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# JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

NINETEENTH YEAR—1900—PART I.

## Notes on Psalm ii. 11–12 and on אָרְן, Isaiah xlv. 14.

PROF. J. DYNELEY PRINCE, PH.D.

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THE Masoretic Hebrew text of the last strophe, v.<sup>10-12</sup> of Ps. 2, is as follows:

1 וַתֵּה מַלְכִּים הַשְׁכִּילוּ	5 מִן יֶאֱנֶף וְתֹאכְדוּ דֶרֶךְ
2 הַנִּסְרוּ שִׁמְשֵׁי אֶרֶץ	6 כִּי יִכְתֹּר כְּמַעַט אִמּוֹ
3 עֲבְדוּ אֶת יְהוָה בִּירְאָה	7 אֲשֶׁר־כָּל חֹסֵי בּוֹ
4 וַיִּלּוּ בִרְעָדָה נִשְׁקֻ בֶרֶךְ	

The above division into lines is necessitated by the trimeter rhythm, which is fairly constant throughout the poem. In the fourth line of the strophe two unusual expressions occur, viz. וַיִּלּוּ בִרְעָדָה and נִשְׁקֻ בֶרֶךְ. The first of these is translated slavishly by G ἀγαλλιῶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ (*V exultate ei cum tremore*) but there is really no parallel for וַיִּלּוּ בִרְעָדָה which seems impossible, or, at least, very improbable. The stem גִּל, cognate with Arabic *ḡala*, means only 'go around in a circle, be excited to laughter, rejoice,' and is certainly very strange in connection with רְעָדָה. The only other passage besides Ps. 2<sup>11</sup> where גִּל appears in a sense different from its ordinary meaning is Hos. 10<sup>8</sup>, where it occurs in parallelism with אָבַל 'mourn.' Here, however, it may well be a clerical error for חִל, as Ewald and Cheyne clearly saw. Grätz and others, following Ps. 48<sup>7</sup>, accordingly substitute חִיל in Ps. 2<sup>11</sup>, which would be a possible reading, were it not for the following נִשְׁקֻ בֶרֶךְ.

The translation of this by 'kiss the son' is not impossible from a purely textual point of view. The Aramaic form בֶּרֶךְ<sup>1</sup> might have been used by our poet instead of the Hebrew בֶּן, to avoid a disagreeable assonance with the following מִן, especially as the Aramaic form תִּרְעַם (root רָעַע for Hebrew רָצַע) occurs v.<sup>9</sup>. The existence of

<sup>1</sup> בֶּרֶךְ occurs also in the Aramaized Hebrew of Prov. 31<sup>2</sup>.

the purely Heb. בן in v.<sup>7</sup> does not militate against this suggestion, as there would have been no reason to use a different expression in that passage. Some expositors, in fact, insist on translating 'kiss the son,' owing to the allusion to the sonship of the divinely appointed king in v.<sup>7</sup>, but if the context of Ps. 2<sup>12</sup> be examined carefully, it will be seen that neither the subject of אָנֹכִי nor the person to whom the possessive suffix in אָנֹכִי refers can possibly be the Son-Messiah. "Lest he be angry and ye wander on your way, for his wrath is easily kindled. Happy are all who put their trust in him." This can refer only to Jahveh Himself, whom the heathen kings are especially adjured to serve in v.<sup>11</sup>, and not to the divinely appointed king. The translation 'son' then is clearly inadmissible from a critical point of view.

Jerome translates נִשְׁקֵן בָּר *adore pure*,<sup>2</sup> which is followed by some modern commentators — notably Briggs, *Mess. Proph.*, p. 136, who renders 'and reverence with trembling, render sincere homage.' This is not satisfactory because בָּר occurs nowhere else as an adverb, although מָר appears Is. 33<sup>7</sup> in the sense 'bitterly.' The stem נִשְׁק, moreover, never appears in classical Hebrew without an object: cf. Job 31<sup>27</sup> ו K. 19<sup>18</sup> Hos. 13<sup>2</sup>. Turning now to G and V, we find the translation ἀρπάσατε παιδείας *apprehendite disciplinam*, which, as Grätz saw, must presuppose a text קָחוּ בְּמוֹסֵר. In his *Psalmen*, p. 158, he accordingly substitutes this for נִשְׁקֵן בָּר. This seems much too radical a change for serious consideration. The widely divergent text of G here would rather imply the existence of a different Hebrew original. Baethgen, *Psalmen*, p. 7, very ingeniously conjectures that the original of G depended on some haggadic interpretation of בָּר in the sense of מוֹסֵר or תּוֹרָה. He advances this suggestion on the analogy of the Talmud which understood נִשְׁקֵן בָּר as 'cleave to the law,' בָּר = תּוֹרָה.<sup>3</sup> Lagarde reads נִשְׁקֵן מוֹסֵר 'put on again his bonds,' referring it to the allusion in v.<sup>3</sup>, but this is equally unsatisfactory, as נִשְׁק is never found in this sense.

It is evident that the text of this whole passage is extremely corrupt, both from the fact that the versions differ so widely from M and that it is practically impossible to get any sense from M as it stands. The verses 11-12 may be altered as indicated in the following revision of the strophe:

1 ותה מלכים השכלו	And now, ye kings, take heed!
2 הִנְסֵר שֹׁמֵר אֶרֶץ	Be warned, ye rulers of earth!

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sym. προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς. Αἱ. καταφιλήσατε ἐκλεκτῶς.

<sup>3</sup> See Weber, *Altynagogale Theologie*, p. 148.

3 עבדו את יהוה ביראה	Serve ye Jahveh with fear,
4 נשקו לו ברעדה	And cleave to him with trembling.
5 מן יאנף ותאבדו דרך	Lest he be angry and ye wander on your way!
6 כי יבשר כמטט אפו	For easily kindled is his wrath.
7 אשר כל חסי בו	Happy are all who put their trust in Him.

The chief points to be noted are: *a*) The verb נשק, meaning 'cleave to, kiss,' is nearly always<sup>4</sup> construed in classical Hebrew with the preposition לו. *b*) It is possible, therefore, that the last syllable of the otherwise unsatisfactory נילו stands for an original לו. Erasing the unnecessary ני, we get לו...<sup>5</sup> *c*) The next step is to transpose נשק, so as to read ונשקו לו. The ני of נילו may possibly have arisen from dittography of קו in נשקו. *d*) This leaves ברעדה, of which בר may be cancelled as a dittography. This gives the perfect trimeter line ונשקו לו ברעדה, and makes the last strophe seven lines long, as are the first and third. The second has but six. The word דרך in the fifth line of the strophe may be construed as an accusative of respect dependent on תאבדו as in Dt. 32<sup>28</sup>: כי נוי: אבד עצות הקמה.

ארן occurs twice in the Old Testament,<sup>6</sup> namely, Is. 44<sup>14</sup>, in the evident sense 'fir, cedar,' and in 1 Chr. 2<sup>25</sup> as the name of one of the descendants of Judah. This word is plainly not a variant of the usual expression ארז, Ez. 17<sup>23</sup>, but is a derivative from a stem ארן, which, as may be shown from the Assyrian, probably means 'to be high,' or 'strong.' There can be little doubt that ארן is a cognate of the common Assyr. *érinu*, *érnu*, 'cedar, fir,' which is used individually and collectively. The plant name *arantu* seems to furnish the key to the exact meaning of the stem, as it is defined in K. 271, 12, by *U. SAG. EL* 'a high-growing plant.' This meaning appears to be further confirmed by the existence of such forms as *irnintu* 'power, victory,' *urnatu* 'strength,' *urinnu* 'staff, sceptre (?)',<sup>7</sup> all of which are cognate in meaning with the idea 'high, strong.' It is probable also that the substantive *urnakku*,<sup>8</sup> occurring V. R. 29, 41 *c. f.* in

<sup>4</sup> With the accus. Prov. 24<sup>26</sup> 1 S. 20<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> So also Wellhausen, *Psalms*, Hebrew Text (SBOT).

<sup>6</sup> Cf., however, ארנים Para 3, 8 in connection with ארד; also ארונים, probably an error for אירנים Rosh ha-shana, 23 *a*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *irnintu*, Tig. viii. 62; *urnatu*, II. R. 31, nr. 3, 28; *urinnu* explained by *sibirru* (= *xaffu*), K. 4378 *c. vi.* 74.

<sup>8</sup> *Urnakku* explained by ŠEŠ. NA. and in connection with *bitumi*, 'house,' and *sigurrdum*.

connection with *ziqurrdtum* 'temple-tower,' is a derivative from the same stem. I suggest, moreover, that *šurinnu*, which appears in several passages with the apparent meaning 'pillar,'<sup>9</sup> may be a *shaphel* formation from ארן. It is not likely that there is any close connection between ארן = *erinu* and ארין which is cognate with the Arab. 'arz' 'cedar,' Eth. 'arz, Syr. ארזא, although the consonantal root אר, common to both words, may connote the idea 'high, strong.'

It is probably this tree which is represented on the monuments as bearing three cones at the end of the branch,<sup>10</sup> although this is clearly the fancy of the Assyrian artist.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *šurinni bābi bti Istar*, 'pillars of the gate of the house of Istar.' K. 891, Obv. 5. See *Hdwab.*, p. 691, and Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*, § 65, nr. 33, for *shaphel* noun-formations.

<sup>10</sup> See Bonavia, *Flora of the Assyrian Monuments*, plate 25 and pp. 90-92.

## The Alexandrian Gospel.

PROF. EZRA P. GOULD, D.D.

NEW YORK.

THE question whether the Fourth Gospel is Alexandrian confronts us at the very beginning, and should be answered as a preliminary to all other questions. Certainly the prologue is Alexandrian. The use of the term Logos; the objective, instead of the merely personified sense, given to it; the careful grouping of the two statements that the Logos is both subject and object to God; and, finally, the discussion of his office in the work of creation, which is exactly the place where Alexandrianism brings him into the Divine economy, — are conclusive on this point.

Not the prologue only is Alexandrian; the statement which connects this with the Gospel, that the Logos became flesh, that is, man, leads us to anticipate also an Alexandrian Gospel. If it is not, if the rest of the Gospel is written from another standpoint, it is the most curious piece of disjuncture in the Biblical literature. One reservation has to be made, however, at the outset. It is not the Logos pure and simple who is introduced to us in this statement, but the Logos humanized. The relation of the Word to God is not in any case that of exact identity, and even this modified divinity of the Word is still further qualified by this humanization. Jesus attributes whatever supernatural element appears in him, not to the Logos incarnate in him, but to the Father, the same as any prophet (5<sup>19-37</sup> 7<sup>16-18</sup>). There are passages however in which Jesus speaks of himself as preëxistent, antedating even creation (3<sup>11-13</sup> 17<sup>5</sup>). But not even this consciousness of a preëxistent state comes to him directly, but is mediated, like his other knowledge, by the Spirit (3<sup>34</sup>). The meaning is, apparently, that this knowledge of heavenly things came to him through the Spirit, and that he recognized it as something belonging to a previous state. This twofold consciousness is characteristic of Jesus all through the book, and it is also an exact statement of the Alexandrian conception of him as the humanized Logos.

The statement that Jesus is the only-begotten Son of God is also to be understood in this light. It is true that he never ascribes to himself oneness with the Father, except as a unity of interest, or as something shared by him with others (10<sup>20</sup> 17<sup>11-23</sup>). And he explains the use of the expression *μονογενὴς υἱός*, which the Jews accuse him of applying to God, by showing that the Old Testament has like expressions, which put his language on a level with the language of other men claiming special relations to God, and so remove its blasphemy. But these modifications of the title, only-begotten Son, again are due to the humanization of the Logos, and on the other hand, this title brings out the other side, a sonship not like that of men holding special external relations to God, or of those who are on intimate terms of communion with him, but a peculiar relation, due to an original connection not shared by other men. It is the Alexandrian setting which gives this term its true sense (3<sup>16-19</sup>; cf. 1<sup>14-19</sup>). It is an instance of the same duality, that everything supernatural about Jesus is ascribed to the Father and yet the gift is in his case an unrestricted one. The Father has given everything into his hand, and whatever the Father does, this also the Son does likewise (3<sup>35</sup> 5<sup>20</sup>). The fact that there is here a gift shows the humanity, but the greatness of the gift is explained by the peculiarity of this One Man that he is an incarnation of the Logos.

But the proof that we have in Jesus an incarnation of that Divine Word through whom the world was made, is that his offices as Saviour of men are due to the existence in him of the same primal life-giving elements as explain the agency of the Logos in creation. He is the life and light of men (1<sup>4-9</sup> 8<sup>12</sup> 9<sup>3</sup> 12<sup>46</sup> 5<sup>30</sup> 11<sup>23</sup> 14<sup>6</sup>). This is nothing merely accidental; it is the source of Jesus' spiritual power in this Gospel. Everything is explained in terms of light and life.


There are other slighter things which confirm the Alexandrianism of the Fourth Gospel. The reference of Jesus' words, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," to the temple of his body, would be quite unintelligible to an ordinary Jew, but to one accustomed to the allegorical interpretation by which Alexandrian philosophy was able to bring together Judaism and Hellenism, and to derive Greek philosophy from Moses, it would have a familiar sound. There is another curious fact which this Alexandrian connection would help to explain. Several times John the Baptist deems it necessary to affirm that he is not the Christ. The peculiar form of statement is, that he "confessed and denied not." The emphasis of this denial, as if it were a matter of importance, or as if some one

had made the claim for the Baptist, does not seem justified by anything that we have from contemporary sources. But we do find in Acts 18<sup>24</sup>-19<sup>7</sup> something which throws light on it. There is in this passage an equally unexplained story of some nondescript disciples, who knew about Jesus, but had received only the baptism of John, and had not received the Holy Spirit. That is, there was here a sort of John the Baptist cult, which for some reason had outlived its allotted time. Among these disciples was Apollos, who was an Alexandrian, and the whole event took place in Ephesus, which was the headquarters of Christian Alexandrianism. This cult then was traceable to Alexandria, and was due to the fact that these men had become separated at a very early period by long distances from the scene of the Gospel history, and had carried along with them this mixed belief in a way which was impossible to any others. The two phenomena, a retention of John's baptism and a recognition of him as the Messiah, are quite different, but they show the common feature of a John the Baptist cult in the headquarters of Alexandrianism.

But after all, the great reason for speaking of this as an Alexandrian Gospel is its subject. It is not a story of our Lord's life, or ministry, but a discussion of his person. There are two facts which enter into this discussion which connect it with Alexandrianism. In the first place, such a discussion does not belong to Palestinian Judaism but to Alexandrianism. The line of demarcation is distinct. All the Alexandrian books, including the Johannean writings, Ephesians, Colossians, and Hebrews, not only contain this feature but emphasize it. In the other books it occurs only in Phil. 2<sup>6-11</sup>, and there in a different form. The second fact is that the terms of this discussion are Alexandrian. The statement of the prologue, that creation was not by God directly, but through the mediation of the Logos, and that this was due to his possession of the creative life, is distinctly Alexandrian. Then the connection between the prologue and the rest of the Gospel is given in the fact that the Word became flesh, and that this humanized Logos was our Lord. And finally, his redemptive office is ascribed to his possession of the same creative powers of life and light that explain his creative agency. Only in the one they denote the agencies by which natural life is created; in the other, the powers by which spiritual life is begotten. These titles, life and light, universally given to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, are thus distinctly Alexandrian.

What is the place of an Alexandrian Gospel in the New Testament writings? In the first place, books of an Alexandrian type belong to

the New Testament period. The Judaism of the Dispersion was not Palestinian but Hellenistic. On the other hand, Christianity was planted in these cities by a Jew who was a representative of the Rabbinical school. But he interpreted Christianity in the terms of prophetism, of priestism (so far as he made sacrifice as well as repentance the condition of acceptance with God), and of the Rabbinical logic. And so long as he lived, his powerful personality served to keep out of these churches both Christianity of the Palestinian type, represented by the Jerusalem church, and of the Alexandrian type. There was an attempt to introduce the latter at Corinth, against which the apostle contended, but it did not succeed. With the death of the apostle, this state of things would come to a necessary end. Christianity was so far the successor of Judaism, that it would have to root itself in that religion, but the form of Judaism in which it was rooted would evidently be that of the region in which it was planted. In Palestine, it might be prophetism, priestism, or rabbinism; but among the Jews of the Dispersion, there would have to be added a fourth element which would dominate the whole. Contact with the Greeks had added speculation, or inquiry into the origin of things, to the other forms of religious thought. In order to do this the Hellenistic Jews had to make Moses the originator of the Platonic philosophy, but this was only a cover for the evident substitution of a philosophy which shut God out of his universe for the plain Jewish belief in God as the Creator of all things. The difference was a radical one, and it affected not only Judaism, but, in a far greater degree, the interpretation given to Judaism by Jesus. Jesus was distinctly a prophet, that is, a man who arrived at the knowledge of religious facts by vision. He employed his spiritual faculties on the heavenly world, as he used his senses on the outer world, and the result in both cases was vision. Philosophy is essentially different. It is an inquiry into the origin of things and into the nature of God, in which the faculties employed are not the spiritual senses but the reasoning part of man; and the result is never vision. Now the history of the New Testament literature shows that after the death of St. Paul there was an attempt on the part of the early apostles to enter these Gentile churches with Christianity of the prophetic type. The Greek language of the Synoptics shows that they were written for these churches. But, besides this attempt, there was the more locally adapted invasion of them by a type of thought originating in Alexandrianism and adapted to Christianity. The necessity for this arose from the fact that



neither the original Paulinism, nor the prophetism of the apostles in the period succeeding St. Paul, was indigenous. Only Alexandrianism possessed the ground.

Secondly, besides this certainty that there would be an Alexandrian, as well as some form of the Palestinian, interpretation of the Gospel, there is in the other forms of Christian thought an emphasis of the redemptive element in the Divine economy, and a corresponding lack of a theory of the universe. These two elements, man's moral need and the intellectual call for a theory that shall account for the world, divide the ground of religious thought between them. Both are to be found in the two systems which we are examining, Judaism and Hellenism, but they exist in varying degrees. The Jew sees in God not only the author of the moral law but also the creator of the universe; but he does not get beyond the fact of creation to a theory of the creative process and a philosophy of the Divine nature which shall make creation possible. Nor does he start with creation and go on to the moral government of the world; but, approaching God through his moral sense, he comes to find in him the source of all things. The Greek, on the other hand, while he includes the moral order in the scheme of the universe, does not start with it; nor does he approach the thought of God through his moral sense, which is really the source of revelation; but he starts off with the purely intellectual question of the order and the origin of the universe. Give the Greek, therefore, a religious system which dwells on the redemptive thought, man's moral need and the Divine provision for it, and includes only an incidental allusion to the whole of things of which that forms a part; and if the moral stress and power of it lead to its acceptance, he will, nevertheless, reconstruct it in accordance with what seems to him a more reasoned and proportioned scheme of thought. Now, no Jews are Greeks; the Hellenistic Jews, however, are Greek in this intellectual demand.

We have not yet, however, treated the essential reason for Alexandrianism in the Christian literature. It furnished the answer, so far, to the question which came to be the essential one in Christian thought. Jesus, who came to answer the human problem, became himself that problem. Set up in this world, which is not even yet half-grown, a full-grown man, one so conversant with its moral order that he can not only expound it, but actually find in it the secret of an absolutely wise and right life for himself; and you have set men to guessing more than ever. This we must never forget, that, whatever be the problem started by that life, or the answer to the problem,

the starting-point is the life itself, a human life containing in itself the harmony of the universal moral order. Nor is there any doubt of the use to which Jesus meant that life should be put. The consciousness of an immense moral force, coming from the action of the higher moral order upon himself, did not create questions within him, but rather a surety of just one thing, that in that way lay the salvation of a world sorely bestead. God, interpreted to men through such a life, could restore things and set them straight. It was this moral power that seemed to him useful in this world and not the questions as to himself started by it. But already the question had been started, and it loomed up, not only as a question, but as a means of honoring the Teacher himself. Men must call him Lord, Lord, whether they did the things that he commanded them or not.

St. Paul had already given an answer to the question, ascribing to Jesus not only humanity but divinity, but his answer was drawn from Palestinian Judaism. Jesus was to him an incarnation of the only Divine emanation known to Judaism of this type. An incarnation of God himself was an impossibility. But the Spirit of God, an emanation from the Divine Being to whom was due the special enlightenment of prophets and of other men gifted to do the various work of the world, might through incarnation in a man insert into humanity a moral power of a sort superior to the mere enlightenment which was his ordinary method of imparting his gifts. Jesus was to him an incarnation of this Divine emanation, the only one known to Jews of his type. The answer was the easier to him, because Jesus was in his consciousness much more associated with the higher powers than with the life of man. He had known him in his heavenly life rather than his earthly career. But St. Paul spoke as one unfamiliar with the idea of incarnation, whereas the Hellenistic Jew was familiar with it as containing within itself the secret of the creation. The universe was to him a series of incarnations, and the Logos was the Divine emanation containing within himself the principle of incarnation. For he was the embodiment of the thought of God, which is incarnate in the universe, as the thought of any artist is embodied in his work. Only in the case of God it did not remain a thought simply, but became a *quasi*-personality, both subject and object to God, and endowed with a creative life.

Christian Alexandrianism was inspired to see that the secret of moral power in this incarnation must be the humanizing of the Logos. He must be a man in such a sense that any supernatural access of knowledge and power in him must be due, not to the

incarnate Logos, but to the indwelling Spirit. This is especially emphasized in both the epistle to the Hebrews and the Johannean writings. And while this incarnation of the Logos, which is the secret of creation, involves immanence and so overcomes the difficulty in the way of creation involved in the Divine transcendence, the real principle of immanence in God is the Spirit. The way in which the Fourth Gospel dwells upon the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is due to this, that the writer, who is familiar with the emphasis which Jesus put upon the work of the Holy Spirit, wishes to find in his scheme a place not only for the incarnate Logos but also for the immanent Spirit.

This, then, is the distinction of Alexandrianism, that its intellectual genius kept alive, if it did not start, the question as to the nature of our Lord, and with it the question sure to follow of the processes of the Divine nature; and that it furnished the answer to these questions which, with some important modifications, has lived, and has become the centre of gravity of historic Christianity.

## The Doctrine of Faith in Hebrews, James, and Clement of Rome.

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ONE of the most important and at the same time most perplexing questions of New Testament criticism is the date of James. Internal evidence has value, but partakes too largely of the subjective element to be conclusive. It cannot, for example, be considered more than an improbability that a brother of the Lord writing a score of years or less after the crucifixion would bid the brethren to "take for an example of suffering and of patience the prophets who spake in the name of the Lord," and Job, and say nothing of Jesus. Authorities will differ as to the weight of such considerations. Language gives perhaps more cogent evidence, for it is hard to reconcile a date early enough to admit the conservative interpretation of Jas. 1<sup>1</sup>, with the mellifluous Greek of the epistle. At any date when James of Jerusalem was in a position to address an exhortation to the entire church of Christ ("the twelve tribes of the Israel that is scattered abroad"), one can hardly believe that it would have been written in anything but Aramaic. But this also is inconclusive to many minds. About all that the internal evidence is generally admitted to prove is that the epistle must either be very early, the earliest of New Testament writings, or else relatively late. It cannot have appeared during the time of the Pauline controversy over justification by faith or works, for it appears blandly unconscious of any important opposition.

Admittedly the literary relations of this epistle, if real dependence could be shown of other writers on James, or of James on other writers, would give far more satisfactory, if not conclusive evidence of date. Perhaps the dependence of James on 1 Peter is the most generally admitted, though here too there are many who declare the priority to be on the other side. Scarcely any deny the connection. But it is my belief that a careful scrutiny of the doctrine of faith as set forth in Heb. 11<sup>8-19</sup> 31 Jas. 2<sup>21-26</sup> and Clem. Rom. 10-12, will show a probability of dependence in the order named, *i.e.* that James

presupposes Hebrews,<sup>1</sup> and that Clement presupposes both;<sup>2</sup> so that the date of James may be fixed with tolerable confidence between Hebrews and Clement of Rome, or between 75 and 95 A.D.

No student of Hebrews will need to be convinced of the marked Alexandrian coloration with which the Pauline doctrine of faith is there tintured. Says the late Professor Bruce, in the article on "Hebrews" in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii. 1899, p. 334: "Faith is a great word in the Epistle to the Hebrews also, but its use there is not quite the same as in the Pauline letters. . . . The function of faith as a force making for personal righteousness or noble conduct is very prominently set forth in ch. 11, where in a series of well-chosen instances it is exhibited as a power helping men to make their lives sublime. But the secret of its power is peculiarly conceived in Hebrews. In St. Paul's system faith derives its power from its personal object, the Lord Jesus Christ. It unites us to Him, and from Him flows a transforming influence. In Hebrews the secret of faith's power is its psychological character as a faculty of the human mind, whereby it can make the future as present, and the unseen as if it were visible. So viewed, faith as a principle making for heroism is not confined to the Christian world. It is as wide as humanity, and can turn out heroes and heroines in every land. Hence even a Rahab finds a place in the roll of those who obtained a good report through faith."

The difference is wide indeed. In Paul faith was the opposite of

<sup>1</sup> So Hilgenfeld, Crimm, Hausrath, Schmiedel, Pfeiderer, W. Brückner, H. J. Holtzmann. The last named adduces Heb. 6<sup>1</sup> 9<sup>14</sup> (*νεκρά ἔργα*, with which Jas. 2<sup>17</sup>. 26<sup>26</sup> sets *πίστις νεκρά* in analogy and contrast), and 12<sup>11</sup> (*καρπὸς εἰρημικὸς δικαιοσύνης* = Jas. 3<sup>18</sup>, *καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης ἐν εἰρήνῃ*; cf. the singularly harsh representation, the fruit, instead of the seed, is sown *τοῖς ποιοῦσιν*, a *dativus commodi*, *εἰρήνῃ*); 11<sup>17-19</sup> (the sacrifice of Abraham, antithesis in Jas. 2<sup>21</sup>, cf. 1 Macc. 2<sup>62</sup>); vs.<sup>81</sup> (Rahab, introduced in natural connection with the conquest of Jericho, but in Jas. 2<sup>25</sup> having only a polemic relation to the context); 6<sup>3</sup> (= Jas. 4<sup>16</sup>); 12<sup>9</sup> (= Jas. 1<sup>17</sup>); 13<sup>7</sup> (= Jas. 5<sup>10</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> Holtzmann, *Einl.*<sup>3</sup> p. 336, writes as follows regarding the relation between Jas. and Clem. Rom.: "The numerous coincidences with Clem. Rom. (especially 2<sup>25</sup> [Rahab] 3<sup>18</sup> 4<sup>16</sup> = Clem. 12<sup>1</sup> 38<sup>2</sup> 21<sup>6</sup>) and Hermas, are very remarkable. The dependence in the case of the former is certainly, in the case of the latter probably, on the side of James." He refers to Pfeiderer, *Urchr.*, p. 868, who admits, however, that the more remarkable coincidences (Clem. 30<sup>2</sup> = 1 Pet. 5<sup>6</sup> = Jas. 4<sup>6</sup>, Clem. 49<sup>5</sup> = 1 Pet. 4<sup>8</sup> = Jas. 5<sup>20</sup>) are as easily explicable from the dependence of both on 1 Peter. In the two passages, Clem. 38<sup>2</sup> 21<sup>6</sup>, I am unable to see the faintest evidence of priority over Jas. 3<sup>18</sup> and 4<sup>16</sup>. The third instance of Holtzmann (Clem. 12<sup>1</sup> = Jas. 2<sup>25</sup>) is that which we have now to consider.

the Pharisaic *καύχημα*. It was the self-surrender by which dying to sin, to the law, to the whole struggle for a righteousness of our own, we participate ethically in the death of Christ; but also, receiving from God forgiveness and the life-giving Spirit, participate further in Christ's resurrection. In Hebrews this most characteristic as well as most fundamental concept of Paul's Christianity has disappeared. Faith becomes the power of penetration to the ideal. It approximates dangerously to the Buddhistic-gnostic conception of "enlightenment" or gnosis.

Abel by it was enabled to perceive that the sacrifice of a lamb was "more excellent" than that of fruits of the ground, so that by the acceptance granted "his gifts" he presents an undying witness through the ages of the blood to be shed that should "speak better things" than that outpoured by him. Abraham, the great hero of faith, was such because he looked beyond the letter of the promise, expecting "the city which hath the foundations whose builder and maker is God." Our author takes pains to show that the patriarchs, one and all, desired not earthly dwelling-places, but "a better country, that is, a heavenly,"<sup>3</sup> and because they clung to this loftier ideal God was not ashamed to be known by the exclusive title of "their God," *i.e.* "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." This loftier outlook of the patriarchs redeems Christianity from the reproach of having been at first, in the form of Judaism, a merely national religion. The same penetration to the future was evinced in Isaac's dying blessing, as well as those of Jacob and Joseph. Moses' rejection of "all the treasures of Egypt" was due to his spiritual vision of the Christ as "greater riches." It was simply that "he looked to the recompense of reward." He "endured the wrath of the king," because he saw behind and above Pharaoh the king who is invisible. Even "Jesus, the author and perfecter of our faith, endured the cross, despising shame, for the vista of joy that was spread out before him," for *his* faith, too, was insight into the divine ideal. Faith, in fact, is defined generally to be "the giving substance to things hoped for, the subjective experience of things not seen."

How closely this doctrine of faith as insight stands connected with the Philonic ideas and the Alexandrian allegorical interpretation of

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Apoc. of Baruch 57<sup>2</sup>, where the bright waters represent the fount of Abraham, in his son, and his son's son, "because at that time the unwritten law was named . . . and faith (belief) in the coming judgment was then generated, and hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up, and the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted." Cf. Enoch 60<sup>6</sup>.

Scripture, needs hardly to be pointed out. It is equally obvious that there is no intentional disloyalty to Paul. The insight of faith is of worth only as it prompts to *ὑπομονή*, *i.e.* persistence in the race. And yet here is a step already taken toward that conception of faith *plus* works as the ground of justification which in James and the ecclesiastical writings presents such a strange though unconscious contrast to Paulinism. With all its splendid development of the Pauline Christology, Hebrews might well be regarded in conservative circles of the church, such as the Jewish circles in Palestine and Rome where special stress was laid on the ethical side, as open to a dangerous use in support of intellectualism unless more emphasis were laid upon ethical requirements. Rome and Palestine are, in fact, just the regions to which the epistle is assigned, with a constantly increasing preponderance of opinion in favor of some Roman Christian congregation as its original destination. Here, at least, we find it some twenty years later, employed so copiously, though namelessly, in Clement's letter to the church of Corinth that he often seems to be following its argument point by point. Especially is this the case with the great chapter on faith that we are now considering, the illustrations of which are taken up *seriatim* in Clem. Rom. 9-13. The early Alexandrian Pseudo-Barnabas also shows unmistakable acquaintance and sympathy with Hebrews among the very few New Testament writings he employs.

With regard to James there is quite as much uncertainty of location as of date until the question of the genuineness of its superscription (Jas. 1') be decided. Rome is at least as likely a place for its origin and preservation as any other, and Rome is certainly the place to which we are carried back by the external evidence. Aside from Clement of Rome, of whose use of James I am about to speak, we have no evidence of even the existence of James throughout the entire second century, with the one remarkable exception of Hermas, the Roman apocalyptist of about 140. Of his use of James, Westcott says (*History of the Canon*<sup>6</sup>, p. 199): "The *Shepherd* bears the same relation to the Epistle of St. James as the Epistle of Barnabas to that of the Hebrews," appending the note, "The coincidences of Hermas with St. James are too numerous to be enumerated at length. Whole sections of the *Shepherd* are framed with evident recollection of St. James's Epistle, — *e.g.* Vis. 3<sup>9</sup>; Mand. 2<sup>9</sup>, 11; Sim. 5<sup>4</sup>." But although parts of the *Shepherd* are doubtless older than 140, the date and authorship of James are hardly affected, since in any event it would have to be dated as early as *ca.* 125. We note, however, as a sig-

nificant fact, the presence of this group of writings, Hebrews, James, Clem. Rom., and Hermas, very early in the second century at Rome, where the Alexandrian coloration of the Pauline doctrine of faith in the first-named writing would not be likely to pass altogether without protest. The question is, Does the passage Jas. 2<sup>14-26</sup> give any evidence of aiming to correct a type of ultra-Paulinism to which Hebrews, unless wisely interpreted, would be likely to give aid and comfort?

It is generally admitted that this author, while employing certain expressions of the Pauline theology in the reverse sense, as in 2<sup>24</sup>, "Ye see that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only," is not consciously contradicting the great apostle to the Gentiles. He simply has no appreciation of what Paul means by faith. He has the theological formulae of Paul, and is interested in the controversy as to justification by faith or works. But the controversy was agitated before Paul's day, and even the phraseology and proof texts need not *necessarily* be of Pauline origin. This author may or may not have got them from Paul. He certainly is not aiming at Paul, or he could not so misrepresent him. He simply does not know that Paul did not recognize the existence of such a thing as "faith without works," but made the alternative, "faith energizing through love" or nothing. This author is willing to bestow the sacred name of "faith" on such mere dry intellectual assent as the devils themselves are forced to give "and tremble." "Faith," therefore (meaning mere knowledge, belief, or insight), to be of value, must have added to it something more, — namely, works. To him, accordingly, the elements of salvation are two. First, there is knowledge of the ideal. This it is God's part to give in the law, now by the teaching of Jesus made "perfect" and "royal," a law of liberty, the mirror of ideal righteousness. But this knowledge must be accompanied by "wisdom" to understand and appreciate it, this too being given by God liberally to all that ask. In the second place, one must have obedience or patient continuance in well-doing, *ὑπομονή*, both in the positive sense of works of mercy, and negatively by keeping unspotted from the world. This is man's part, the sum and substance of what he owes to God, pure worship and undefiled before our God and Father. If this author had read the Pauline epistles, he seems to have had very little appreciation of their contents; for the conception of justification by a faith barren of good works, which he antagonizes, is not only not in them, but is repeatedly and most explicitly guarded against by the apostle, as e.g. in Gal. 6<sup>7f</sup>; "Be not deceived (by those who allege that my doctrine of justification by faith tends to immorality), God is not mocked (it does

not permit the sinner to defy God's law with impunity) ; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap ;" or " for we must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad " (2 Cor. 5<sup>10</sup>). It is only in a post-Pauline form that the doctrine seems capable of such misunderstanding as has been put upon it, either by our author himself, or by those whom he antagonizes ; and the latter, at least, conceive of faith in the Alexandrian manner as essentially insight. In fact, they go further than Hebrews, and drop the *ὑπομονή* out of sight as a condition of justification. They retain the phraseology of Paul, but have lost its ethical import. He who answers them accordingly thinks himself the best of Paulinists when insisting on the reinstatement of the *ὑπομονή* without observing that he has only increased the un-Pauline divorce between faith and works. *Both* parties to *this* controversy appear to be agreed to a definition of faith which makes it substantially equivalent to "enlightenment." When now, in addition to this correspondence, the two instances selected by "James" to disprove the doctrine of his opponents are both of them found not in Paul, but in Heb. 11, the great chapter on faith of this epistle, we certainly advance a step nearer to demonstration of the relation we believe to exist.<sup>4</sup>

It is suggested in our quotation from Professor Bruce's article that Abraham and Rahab are selected in Hebrews as types respectively of believing Israel and the believing Gentile world, which enters into the inheritance of the covenant people by conversion and adoption. But there is no setting forth of this correspondence, as if the author had selected Rahab from a number of possible types of faith. On the contrary, he simply traces the sacred history from Genesis to Joshua, pausing at the conquest as a natural stopping-place, and passing more lightly over the subsequent periods. In the case of Abraham he goes a step beyond Paul in adding to the evidences of faith in his forsaking of home at God's command, and his rejoicing in the promise of a son, the instance of the sacrifice of Isaac, which, but for its following after Gen. 15<sup>3</sup>, might well have been appealed to by the legalist as proof

<sup>4</sup> It should be clearly understood that the phraseology of the argument in Jas. 2<sup>21</sup>, 24, and the type of "justification" selected, go back to Paul, if not still earlier. "Justification" is foreign to the vocabulary if not to the thought of Hebrews. What is argued is that the type of ultra-Pauline intellectualism antagonized in James is one which seems, from its character, and from the Scripture instances it cited, to have built upon Hebrews, adding to Paul's example of Abraham's justification by faith apart from works that of "Rahab the harlot."

of justification by works. But to the author of Hebrews it is not an instance of simple, unquestioning obedience. Even this is viewed from the standpoint of his dominant conception. Abraham raised the sacrificial knife over his son, not because he preferred the destruction of his hopes to disobedience, but because *the insight of faith* enabled him to see that his hopes would not be destroyed. "He that had gladly received the promises was offering up his only-begotten son," because, by a kind of anticipation of the resurrection, "he accounted that God is able to raise up even from the dead"; so that the restoration of Isaac became in reality "a parable" of the resurrection. In the case of Rahab he has doubtless in mind, as the evidence of her "faith," the remarkable confession placed in her mouth in Jos. 2<sup>9-11</sup>, beginning, "I know that Yahweh hath given you the land," where the insight is little different from shrewd and calculating foresight.

In James, where again the correspondence of Rahab to the proselyte, if present at all to the author's mind, is only tacit, we cannot account for the ranging side by side of Abraham *and Rahab*, unless the object be to counteract the wrong impression liable to be produced by Heb. 11. Such use of Pauline phraseology and proof texts as we have is quite compatible with a sincere though misdirected attempt to vindicate the doctrine of Paul, and to prevent a one-sided use of Hebrews, disregarding ch. 12; which, as Professor McGiffert kindly points out, gives an indispensable complement to the doctrine of ch. 11, by showing that perseverance in the race, *ὑπομονή* (cf. Jas. 1<sup>3-4</sup>), is the end which "faith" subserves. But what evidence have we that Rahab had ever been brought forward elsewhere than in Hebrews as an instance of justification by faith without works?<sup>5</sup> It demands indeed a very Alexandrianized point of view to see in the story a trace of anything but the boldest *quid pro quo* understanding. Rahab of all persons seems to be rewarded on the simple theory that one good turn deserves another. In James a check is placed upon the treatment in Hebrews of the Old Testament heroes and heroines who "received a good report," by pointing out that Abraham's belief had first to be supplemented by the good work of obedience, before "he was called the friend of God"; as in 1 Macc. 2<sup>52</sup> Gen. 15<sup>6</sup> is brought into connection with the same incident, perhaps because of the repetition with enhancements in 22<sup>17-18</sup> of the promise of 15<sup>6</sup>. Similarly Rahab's belief had

<sup>5</sup> The burden of proof lies upon those who reject an obvious possible source for the example adopted in James (from current use) without suggesting a substitute.

also to be supplemented by her deliverance of the spies, else it would have been valueless. To suppose that the author of James arrived at just these two illustrations, the sacrifice of Isaac and the deliverance of the spies by Rahab, quite independently of Heb. 11<sup>17-19, 31</sup> calls for large drafts on the imagination. We must not only suppose that they had come into current use as the salient types of justification, but also that they had been made use of in support of a doctrine of faith tending dangerously (at least in the judgment of our author) toward intellectualism. It is a far more probable supposition that it is just the use made of them by the author of Heb. 11<sup>17-19, 31</sup>, or by his readers, which called forth the protest.

This relation becomes still more probable when we observe the almost identical effect produced on the mind of Clement of Rome by reading this same chapter of Hebrews. In this case there is no question whatever of the employment. Clement has upwards of forty-seven echoes of Hebrews, and in chs. 9-18 of his epistle follows it seriatim. But, whether because of the previous protest of James, or simply because he was independently struck by the dangerous leaning of the epistle toward intellectualism, on this point of the doctrine of justification by faith, he does not feel able to endorse its teaching without serious qualification. In either case we have confirmation of the view that it is the doctrine of Hebrews, or perversions of it, not the doctrine of Paul, which calls forth the protest of James.

But to return to Clement. It is particularly the roll-call of the heroes of faith who "obtained a good report" in Heb. 11 which seems to him to call for restatement. If we "fix our eyes on them that ministered perfectly unto God's excellent glory," says he, we shall find in the case of Enoch that he was "found righteous in obedience"; in the case of Noah that "by his ministration (deliverance through water) he preached regeneration (in baptism) unto the world (cf. 1 Pet. 3<sup>20f</sup>)," and so was "found faithful" (justified). "Abraham, who was called the 'friend,' was found faithful in that he rendered obedience unto the words of God," first in leaving his country for the land of promise, then when he was parted from Lot, then in his believing in the promise of Gen. 15<sup>5</sup>. But it was "for his faith and hospitality" (Gen. 18<sup>1ff</sup>) that "a son was given him in his old age, and by obedience he offered him a sacrifice unto God." Lot, again, was saved "for his hospitality and godliness." The entire twelfth chapter is next devoted to Rahab the harlot, who was "saved" (Jos. 6<sup>25</sup>) "for her faith and hospitality." Clement finds, however,

in the woman's confession, and the scarlet thread hung from the window, whereby she "showed beforehand that through the blood of the Lord there shall be redemption unto all them that believe and hope on God," evidence that "not only faith but prophecy was found in the woman."

Further on he returns to the list of heroes of faith to inculcate another virtue, that of humility. "Let us be imitators also of them which 'went about in goatskins and sheepskins,' preaching the coming of Christ. We mean Elijah and Elisha, and likewise Eze-kiel, the prophets, and besides them those men also that 'obtained a good report.' Abraham obtained an exceeding good report, and was called 'the friend of God.'" The humility of Abraham is then instanced, thereafter that of Job (*cf.* Jas. 5<sup>10<sup>e</sup></sup>), Moses, and finally that of David (ch. 18), after which he sums up his exhortation "The humility, therefore, and the submissiveness of so many and so great men, who have thus obtained a good report, hath *through obedience* made better not only us, but also the generations that were before us."

Here is a mingling of the examples of Hebrews and James. Moses, "who was called faithful in all his house," and the elders who "obtained a good report" (Clem. Rom. 17<sup>1-3</sup>) is from Hebrews, the prophets and Job (17<sup>1-3</sup>) are from James. The "good report" (*μεμπτωρημένος*) as an expression for Scripture assurances of acceptance with God is a phrase from Hebrews, the principal application of it, the "exceeding good report" applied to Abraham, who "was called the friend of God," alluded to once in 10<sup>1</sup> and again in 17<sup>2</sup>, is from Jas. 2<sup>23</sup>, where alone this witness of God to Abraham's acceptance is referred to. There is thus no small amount of evidence in the very phraseology of the passages to suggest an acquaintance on the part of Clement with James. The relation has indeed been inverted, but surely, if there be dependence, it must be on the side of the conflator, who develops at greater length and with added instances the more concise statement of another.

But much more conclusive is the doctrinal comparison. In James we find already the disposition to check the one-sidedness of the Alexandrian development of Paul's great doctrine. Faith must be supplemented by works, as is proved by the very instances of Abraham and Rahab brought forward in Hebrews in support of the doctrine of justification by faith only. If now another voice is raised with the plea: Yes, and the particular works by which these and the other elders "obtained their good report" were specifically

"obedience," "hospitality," and "humility," we can but place the specific and particular after the general. The relation cannot be reversed.

But neither can one be easily convinced that the increasing relative significance of the special instances of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, and the deliverance of the spies by Rahab, in the order Hebrews, James, Clement of Rome, can be accounted for without literary dependence. Why should Clement devote such large space to Rahab, whose position in the list of Hebrews is quite inconspicuous, if he had not the example of James before him?

On the other hand, he might, indeed, be moved independently to qualify the ultra-Paulinism of the doctrine of faith of Hebrews, but his review of the list Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Lot and Rahab—specially dwelling on the cases of Abraham and Rahab—to show that their "good report" was not for faith only, but for faith *plus* obedience (in the case of Abraham "faith, obedience, and hospitality," in the case of Rahab "faith and hospitality"), is far more naturally explained if we understand him to have been acquainted with the Epistle of James and to have sympathized with its conservatism as against the extreme view of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It goes without saying that he is even more manifestly unconscious of contradicting Paul than is James. But by this time the church already was conceiving the gospel as a *nova lex*. No one understood Paul but Marcion, and Marcion misunderstood him. While even more specifically unpauline than James, Clement is undeniably innocent of intentional disloyalty. But the stages of the process are Paul, Hebrews, James, Clement; and the date thereby obtained for James, whether Hebrews be placed shortly before or shortly after 70 A.D., is one which entirely precludes the authenticity of the superscription. The interpretation of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, in all sincerity as a doctrine of justification by faith *plus* works, suggests a date nearer to 90 A.D.

## The "Son of Man" in the Book of Daniel.

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THE Messianic interpretation of Dan. 7<sup>13</sup> apparently meets us in extant writings as early as in the first century of our era. It is evident that the being who looks like a man and is referred to as a man in Enoch 46<sup>2, 3, 4</sup> 48<sup>2</sup> 62<sup>7, 9, 14</sup> 63<sup>11</sup> 69<sup>26, 27, 29a, b</sup> 70<sup>1</sup> and in 4 Ezra 13<sup>3, 42</sup> is the Messiah. While some features of the description seem to indicate other sources in literature or tradition, it still remains most likely that these writers had in mind the passage in Daniel and understood it as a prophecy of the Messiah.

The same is true of that Apocalypse of Jesus<sup>1</sup> of which parts have been preserved, chiefly in Mt. 24<sup>1-51</sup> Mk. 13<sup>1-37</sup> Lk. 21<sup>6-36</sup> and also of Rev. 1<sup>13, 2</sup>. Through a translation of the Synoptic Apocalypse used by some collector of logia the term ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου found its way as a Messianic title into the gospels, and was made the rendering of מְשִׁיחַ בֶּר even in sayings where ὁ ἀνθρώπος would have prevented a serious misconception.<sup>3</sup> It is clear that the evangelists understood

<sup>1</sup> The reference to the murder of Zechariah b. Barachiah (Mt. 23<sup>35</sup> Lk. 11<sup>51</sup>; cf. Josephus, *Bellum jud.* 4<sup>335, 343</sup>) proves that this apocalypse cannot have been written long before the end of the first century, as Wellhausen has convincingly shown, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*<sup>3</sup>, 1897, p. 366; *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI. 1899, p. 20 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. 14<sup>14</sup> does not refer to the Christ. It is a description of an angel, as the next verse clearly indicates by the words ἄλλος ἄγγελος.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article "Was מְשִׁיחַ בֶּר a Messianic Title?" read before this Society in 1895, published in this JOURNAL, XV. p. 36 ff. The same conclusions were independently reached by Lietzmann, *Der Menschensohn*, 1896, and have been further defended by Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI. 1899, p. 187 ff., and Pfeiderer, *The New World*, 1899, p. 444 ff. The theory was presented in a somewhat different form by Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 1896. The way was paved by Eerdmans, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1894, pp. 153 ff. Rhees, in this JOURNAL, XVII. p. 96, writes: "Schmidt discusses the Aramaic original of this title with elaborate detail, but his argument is manifestly hampered by the prejudgment that Jesus cannot have made for himself at the outset any supernatural claims. This is begging the whole question." An argument based throughout on linguistic and literary considerations might profitably be considered, even if it should be presented with elaborate detail and come from a mind suffering from theological prejudices. In this case the mental processes of the author have not been

כֶּכֶר אֱנוֹשׁ in Dan. 7<sup>13</sup> as referring to the Messiah.<sup>4</sup> The natural impression of the Greek gospels is that Jesus himself shared this view and used the phrase to designate himself as the Messiah.<sup>5</sup> As long as the Greek text was regarded as the court of last appeals no other view was possible in the church.<sup>6</sup>

It is not strange that Akiba<sup>7</sup> should have adopted the Messianic interpretation. Through Joshua b. Levi<sup>8</sup> and Shemuel b. Nahman<sup>9</sup> it gained the ascendancy in the synagogue.

Even in modern times it has found able defenders in Lengerke,<sup>10</sup> Ewald,<sup>11</sup> Knobel,<sup>12</sup> Hilgenfeld,<sup>13</sup> Bleek,<sup>14</sup> Sam. Davidson,<sup>15</sup> Riehm,<sup>16</sup> Orelli,<sup>17</sup> Dillmann,<sup>18</sup> Behrmann,<sup>19</sup> Kamphausen,<sup>20</sup> and Boehmer.<sup>21</sup>

divined with sufficient clearness by his critic. Before examining this subject in detail, I shared the then common view that "the Son of Man," or "the man," was a Messianic title, and that the teaching, conduct, and tragic fate of Jesus could best be accounted for on the assumption that he regarded himself as the Messiah and made for himself such supernatural claims as this position implied, though at the same time emphasizing the ideal humanity he sought to realize. This assumption to some extent hampered me, and a piece of the old leaven remained in my paper. The result of my investigations has indeed convinced me that Jesus never made for himself any Messianic claims, either at the baptism or at Caesarea Philippi. But this result was wholly unexpected. On *a priori* grounds, I still fail to see why it should not have been as possible for Jesus to make such claims as for a Theudas, a Simon Magus, a Simon bar Koziba. It would have been an easier road to travel than the narrow path he trod. That he rose above even the desire to become a righteous king, a world-conquering Messiah, can be explained only by his peculiar moral disposition and his supreme religious genius.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mt. 26<sup>64</sup> Mk. 14<sup>62</sup>. Brandt, *Evangelische Geschichte*, 1893, p. 53 ff., and Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI. p. 207, have convinced me that we have not here a genuine word of Jesus. My former view, *l.c.* p. 51, suggested by Brückner, *Jahrbücher f. prot. Theologie*, 1886, p. 264 ff., and Carpenter, *The First Three Gospels*, 1890, p. 255 ff., is no longer tenable.

<sup>5</sup> This has been well shown by Oort, *De uitdrukking o uros tou ανθρωπου in het Nieuwe Testament*, 1893.

<sup>6</sup> The first suggestion that *filius hominis* = *homo* in Mt. 12<sup>32</sup> and 12<sup>8</sup> came from Gênébrard and Grotius, two eminent linguists who went behind the Greek expression to the Aramaic. Cf. Arnold Meyer, *l.c.* p. 141 ff. <sup>7</sup> *Sanh.* 38 b.

<sup>8</sup> *Sanh.* 98 a.

<sup>9</sup> *Midrash Tehillin*, 21<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> *Commentar*, 1835.

<sup>11</sup> *Propheten*, III. p. 444.

<sup>12</sup> *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, 1837, ii. 408.

<sup>13</sup> *Die jüdische Apokalyptik*, 1857.

<sup>14</sup> *J.d.Th.* 1860, p. 58.

<sup>15</sup> *Introduction*, 1863, III. p. 177.

<sup>16</sup> *Die messianische Weissagung*, 1885, p. 519 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Die alttestamentliche Weissagung*, 1882, p. 519 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Handbuch d. Alt. Theologie*, 1895, p. 538.

<sup>19</sup> *Das Buch Daniel*, 1894.

<sup>20</sup> In *Bunsen's Bibelwerk*, 1868, III. 662, and in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1899.

<sup>21</sup> *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn im Buche Daniel*, 1899, p. 139 ff.

Many of the arguments adduced in favor of this view are of little weight. Dillmann<sup>22</sup> found it "incomprehensible that the people of the saints against whom the little horn has already before been fighting on the earth should be represented as coming with the clouds of heaven"; but no one has maintained that the Jewish people itself had had its abode in celestial realms or had been translated, nor is it distinctly stated in the text whence the man-like being comes. Orelli<sup>23</sup> — as Auberlen before him — is troubled by the inconcinnity brought into the narrative by vv.<sup>21</sup> and <sup>22</sup>, but he fails to perceive that this inconcinnity remains whatever view is taken of the "son of man." I regard vv.<sup>21</sup> and <sup>22</sup> as an interpolation making a bad break between question and answer. Boehmer<sup>24</sup> thinks that only an individual, not a nation, can receive service; at least a nation cannot be served by individuals. The people may, indeed, according to him, be served and obeyed by impersonal, abstract "dominions," but not by living, real, concrete "nations, peoples, and tongues." The author of Isa. 45<sup>14</sup> seems to have thought differently. This is an entirely imaginary distinction. More valuable is Boehmer's observation that the lion of v.<sup>4</sup> stands upright as a *man* and has *human* intelligence and that the eleventh horn of the beast, v.<sup>8</sup>, has the eyes of a *man* and a *speaking* mouth. These descriptions, he maintains, do not reveal any intention on the author's part to emphasize a contrast between the human and the bestial. But the argument is not decisive, since the author may have intended to suggest that the world-powers, in spite of their essentially brutal character, had shown some human characteristics, yet failed to attain to true humanity. Such subtlety of reasoning, however, is exceedingly improbable, and the cause of the hybrid forms in one case, the purely human in the other, is to be found elsewhere. The reading in v.<sup>17</sup> is too uncertain to support the weight of an argument. G and Θ both have βασιλείαι, and מלכין should probably be emended to מלכות or מלכות.

The real strength of the Messianic interpretation lies in the fact that it does not lose itself in vague symbolism and modern humanitarian ideas, but recognizes the presence here of a well-known concrete personality. But it utterly fails to explain how the Messiah once introduced can have dropped so completely out of the author's thought, not only in the explanation of the vision where he is unceremoniously ignored, but also in the future deliverance, with which Michael has much to do, the Messiah nothing.

<sup>22</sup> *l.c.*<sup>23</sup> *l.c.*<sup>24</sup> *l.c.* p. 143.

A non-messianic interpretation possibly appears already in En. 71. The author of this chapter unquestionably represents Enoch as the "son of man" mentioned in En. 46<sup>3</sup>. He distinctly affirms that God said to Enoch, "Thou art the man who art born unto righteousness," 'anta we'etu walda be'ezri v.<sup>14</sup>, alluding to the opening scene in 46. The obvious dependence of the latter chapter on Dan. 7<sup>13</sup> renders it probable that the author understood Daniel's "son of man" as also referring to the translated Enoch.

Dalman<sup>25</sup> calls attention to *Midrash Tanhuma*, ed. Buber, Vaj. 36<sup>6</sup>, where the scene in Daniel is alluded to, but no Messiah is mentioned, while the dignitaries of Israel are presented as sitting on thrones and ruling the nations.

Ibn Ezra sees in **כבר אנש** Israel. He declares: **וַיֹּאמֶר רַבִּי יְשׁוּעָה כִּי זֶה כִּבְרָא אֱנֹשׁ הוּא הַמְּשִׁיחַ וְנִכּוֹן דְּבַר רַק הוּא עִם הַקֹּדֶשׁ שֶׁהֵם יִשְׂרָאֵל**.

This view has been maintained in modern times by Hofmann,<sup>26</sup> Hitzig,<sup>27</sup> Wittichen,<sup>28</sup> Colani,<sup>29</sup> Kuenen,<sup>30</sup> Stanton,<sup>31</sup> Keim,<sup>32</sup> Vernes,<sup>33</sup> Smend,<sup>34</sup> Toy,<sup>35</sup> Marti,<sup>36</sup> Meinhold,<sup>37</sup> Bevan,<sup>38</sup> Réville,<sup>39</sup> Dalman,<sup>40</sup> Schürer,<sup>41</sup> Gunkel,<sup>42</sup> Wellhausen,<sup>43</sup> Lietzmann,<sup>44</sup> Charles,<sup>45</sup> Prince,<sup>46</sup> Curtis,<sup>47</sup> Hühn,<sup>48</sup> *al.* Four years ago I shared this view.<sup>49</sup> It recognizes the fact that the man on the cloud is a representative of Israel, while it explains his disappearance from the scene.

Yet it is not altogether satisfactory. It is impossible to escape the impression that this symbolic representation of "a more humane régime," "*ein Menschheitsideal*," savors more of modern sentiments than of the conceptions of Semitic antiquity. Of Greek speculation

<sup>25</sup> *Die Worte Jesu*, 1898, p. 201 f.

<sup>27</sup> *Das Buch Daniel*, 1850.

<sup>26</sup> *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, I. p. 209 f.

<sup>28</sup> *Die Idee des Menschen*, 1872.

<sup>29</sup> *Jésus Christ et les croyances messianiques*, 1864, p. 16.

<sup>30</sup> *De Godsdiens van Israel*, 1870, II. p. 330.

<sup>31</sup> *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, 1886, p. 109.

<sup>32</sup> *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, 1867, p. 241.

<sup>33</sup> *Histoire des idées messianiques*, 1874, p. 36 f.

<sup>34</sup> *Lehrbuch d. allt. Religionsgeschichte*, 1893, p. 474.

<sup>35</sup> *Judaism and Christianity*, 1891, p. 320, "the pious kernel of the nation."

<sup>36</sup> *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*, 1897, p. 290.

<sup>37</sup> *Kommentar*, 1889.

<sup>39</sup> *Jésus de Nazareth*, 1897, I. p. 184.

<sup>38</sup> *Commentary*, 1892.

<sup>40</sup> *l.c.* p. 197.

<sup>41</sup> *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*<sup>2</sup>, 1886, II. 426; *id.*<sup>3</sup>, 1898, II. 506.

<sup>42</sup> *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 1895, p. 331.

<sup>45</sup> *The Book of Enoch*, 1893, p. 315.

<sup>43</sup> *Skizzen*, VI. p. 192 f.

<sup>46</sup> *A Critical Commentary*, 1899.

<sup>44</sup> *l.c.* p. 41.

<sup>47</sup> *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1898.

<sup>48</sup> *Die messianischen Weissagungen*, 1899, p. 78.

<sup>49</sup> *l.c.*

there is nothing in the book. The foreign influences point in an entirely different direction. Gunkel<sup>50</sup> feels the difficulty of assuming that this emblem of humanitarianism was the creation of the author's own imagination, and is not satisfied with the vagueness resulting from the necessary abandonment of the Messianic interpretation. But his eyes are so steadfastly turned to the East, looking for some mysterious "son of man" to appear in the clouds of Babylonian mythology, that he, too, fails to raise the question as to the class of beings in Jewish folklore to which this figure belongs.

Knobel<sup>51</sup> noticed long ago that "one like a son of man" is a formula used elsewhere in the description of angels, and commented on the influence of Persian doctrines of spirits upon the conception of the Messiah. Dillmann<sup>52</sup> observed that the head of the kingdom, i.e. the Messiah, is "*gleich einem Engelwesen, denn diese werden sonst in Daniel auch als כְּבֶר אִישׁ bezeichnet.*" The opposite is true. The Messiah is not compared with an angel, but the being described is compared with a man.

I venture to offer a new interpretation. The "one like unto a son of man," in Dan. 7<sup>13</sup>, is an angel, and more particularly Michael, the guardian angel of Israel. So uniformly is a phrase of this kind used to designate an angel in the book of Daniel that, unless there is strong reason for seeking a different explanation, this should be accepted. In 8<sup>15</sup> the angel Gabriel is introduced as "one having the appearance of a man," כְּמֹרֶאֶה גִבּוֹר; according to v.<sup>16</sup>, he has the voice of a man, קוֹל אָדָם. In 10<sup>16</sup> Gabriel is described as "one like the appearance of the sons of men," כְּדִמְיוֹת בְּנֵי אָדָם, and in v.<sup>18</sup> כְּמֹרֶאֶה אָדָם. Often the angels are simply described as men. Thus of the four נְבִרִיִּין in 3<sup>25</sup>, one is like "a son of the gods," בֶּר אֱלֹהִיִּין. In 9<sup>21</sup> the angel is referred to as "the man Gabriel," הָאִישׁ נְבִרְיָאֵל; in 10<sup>5</sup> he is a man clothed in linen, and so again in 12<sup>6-7</sup>. In Rev. 14<sup>14</sup>, ὁμοίον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου points to a כְּבֶר אִישׁ and is, as the next verse shows, a designation of an angel. In earlier times the angel was always represented in human shape. That in Ez. 1<sup>26</sup> God himself is described as כְּמֹרֶאֶה אָדָם, does not militate against this conception, for the angels are only degraded gods from the מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה to the "prince of Javan." There is no difference between Gabriel and Michael in this respect. From En. 87<sup>2</sup> we know that the four archangels were all "like white men," *kama 'amsāla zab'e ša'addā*.

The only one of these man-like beings who is so closely identified with Israel as to represent it in the celestial בֵּית דִּין is Michael.

<sup>50</sup> *l.c.*<sup>51</sup> *l.c.* I. 334.<sup>52</sup> *l.c.*

Gabriel is, as his name indicates, the **אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים**, the prophet, the *angelus interpres*, the Jewish Nabu. When he comes to reveal the future to Daniel he is intercepted by the angel of Persia and detained twenty-one days until Michael arrives, 10<sup>13</sup>. He is also obliged to struggle with the angel of Greece until Michael helps him, 10<sup>21</sup>. But it is Michael who everywhere represents the new world-power, Israel. When the kingdom is finally delivered to the people of the Most High, it is he who rises triumphantly, 12<sup>1</sup>. He is distinctly declared to be the celestial prince of Israel, **שְׂרָכֶם**, 10<sup>21</sup>; **הַשָּׂר הַגָּדוֹל הַנֶּמֶד עַל בְּנֵי נֶמֶךְ**, 12<sup>1</sup>.

As Israel's representative before the celestial court Michael is given the world-kingdom. The thrones set for the court, the myriads of angels, the stream of fire, the clouds of heaven, show that the scene is laid, not on earth, but in heaven. The question has been much discussed whence this man-like being comes. It has not been observed that before the angel appears with the clouds (or on the clouds; ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν G points to **עַל** rather than **עִם**), the beast has already been slain, its body destroyed and consumed by fire. Has the representative of Israel had anything to do with this destruction of the beast? In 4 Ezra 13<sup>1</sup> the one *quasi similitudinem hominis* arises from the heart of the sea, *ex corde maris*. In the Apocalypse of Elijah,<sup>58</sup> the seer relates: "I beheld the sea that I had seen below in Amente; its waves rose unto the clouds." It is quite possible that already in Daniel the triumphant celestial champion of Israel was conceived of as coming from the sea with the clouds, having accomplished the overthrow of the beast. This beast may often shift its forms, and be made to represent this or that power hostile to the Most High. In the Apocalypse of John it is the dragon that Michael fights; in Assumptio Mosis it is Satan. Originally it was Tiāmāt, and Michael's prototype is Marduk. That the destruction of the beast is here ascribed to Michael, while in earlier writings the violation of Rahab-Ribbu, the piercing of the Dragon, the conquest of Tehom-Tiāmāt, are Yahweh's work, is only in harmony with the well-authenticated development of Jewish thought.

This interpretation seems to satisfy all requirements. The heavenly being that has the appearance of a man is understood in the same sense as in all other passages in Daniel. It is not necessary to create a special meaning for it here. The figure is not a product of the author's imagination, not a vague symbol of a distinctly modern sentiment, but a well-known personality, the guardian angel of Israel.

<sup>58</sup> 14<sup>20</sup> 15<sup>1</sup>, ed. Steindorff.

Since it is in the celestial world, and not on the throne of David, that Michael represents the Jewish people, it is to be expected that, when the vision is explained in v.<sup>28</sup>, he should disappear and the people of the saints of the Most High take his place. This celestial figure having once been introduced does not, however, disappear in the further development of the drama, but, as might be expected, occupies to the end the most conspicuous position. The destruction of the beast and the coming with the clouds of heaven find a ready explanation in the mythical lore of the period, a knowledge of whose origin and growth is as useful to the modern exegete in ascertaining the author's thought as it probably would have been useless to the author himself. It is only natural that, with the growth of the Messianic idea, the work of Michael and the honor ascribed to him as the representative of Israel should shift to the shoulders of the Messiah.

## The Sanctuary at Shiloh, and Samuel's Sleeping therein.

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THAT Samuel slept in the temple at Shiloh is placed beyond doubt by the express language of 1 Sam. 3<sup>2f</sup>. The literal translation of the Hebrew is as follows: "And it was at that time that Eli was lying down in his place (now his eyes had begun to grow dim; he was unable to see; and the lamp of God had not yet gone out), and Samuel was lying down in the temple of Jahweh, where the ark of God was." The Greek texts are in close agreement with the Hebrew. The *Cod. Vat.* lacks the name of God after sanctuary, and the *Cod. Alex.* weakens the sense a little by rendering "in the house of the Lord." It thus here, as in so many other places, betrays the influences of a later age.

The King James version gets rid of the difficulty of this passage by transposing the clauses: "And ere the lamp of God went out in the temple of the Lord, where the ark of God was, and Samuel was laid down to sleep." It is scarcely necessary to say that such a rendering is quite inadmissible. But the massoretic points held out the bait to the English translators. The pointing shows that the massoretes separated "was lying" from "in the temple." The Revised version has restored the proper order of the clauses, but still wrongly follows the Hebrew pointing, placing a comma after "was laid down to sleep." This leaves the meaning of the translators quite uncertain.

The older commentators generally explained the passage on the supposition that the sanctuary named was the tabernacle of the Priests' Code, and that Samuel slept in one of the rooms surrounding the sanctuary proper. The Cambridge Bible is absolutely silent about the passage, not even correcting the grievously wrong translation of its text. Driver expresses doubt about the real meaning of the passage. "Evidently Samuel was sleeping," he says,<sup>1</sup> "in close prox-

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, p. 34.

imity to the ark, perhaps in a chamber contiguous to the **היכל** in which it was, if not, as the Hebrew taken strictly would imply, actually in the **היכל** itself."

It is difficult to see any ground for Driver's alternative. The Hebrew can scarcely be taken otherwise than strictly; and it not only implies, but expressly asserts, that Samuel did sleep in the **היכל** itself. But what does the *hēkal* here mean? Did Samuel sleep in the holy of holies, as some have asserted, or is the *hēkal* used in a larger sense, so as to include rooms adjoining the sanctuary? Those who urge that the holy of holies is meant take the qualifying clause "where the ark of God was" as further defining the place where Samuel slept. This can scarcely be correct. The clause qualifies "the temple of Jahweh," and we know from the passage only that Samuel and the ark of God were both, on the night in question, in the "temple of Jahweh"; but there is nothing to suggest that he was sleeping "in close proximity to the ark,"<sup>2</sup> further than that they were both in the *hēkal*. Still less is there any reason to suppose that he slept in the holy of holies. The real question, therefore, is whether Samuel slept in the sanctuary proper, or in some adjoining room included under the term *hēkal*. We must see what kind of a structure this *hēkal* was.

Wellhausen has shown conclusively (see his *History of Israel*, p. 38 ff.) that it was not the tabernacle or tent of meeting. The term *hēkal* is never used of the tabernacle, nor of any tent. Moreover, the tabernacle is never mentioned in the books of Judges and Samuel.<sup>3</sup> We find the parallel term, "house of Jahweh," applied to this sanctuary in Shiloh (1<sup>7</sup>,<sup>24</sup> 3<sup>15</sup>) another name not used of the tabernacle. This structure had *doors* (3<sup>15</sup>) and *doorposts* (1<sup>9</sup>) terms which are never used of the flaps of a tent.<sup>4</sup> The indications point, therefore, to a wooden structure. It is otherwise difficult to see how it could be said that "Samuel opened the doors of the house of Jahweh," or that "Eli the priest was sitting upon the seat by the doorpost of the temple of Jahweh."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Nowack makes the same mistake when he says that the "Ephraimite Samuel sleeps every night by the ark of Jahweh in the sanctuary," *Heb. Archæologie*, II. 92.

<sup>3</sup> In 1 Sam. 2<sup>22</sup> we find the term, but the text is more than suspicious. The clause is lacking in the best Mss. of the LXX, and is unknown to Josephus. It is rejected by Wellhausen (*Bücher Samuelis*, in loc.).

<sup>4</sup> **דלת** means a "door of wood or metal moving upon hinges." The word rendered "door" of a tent is **פתח**, literally "opening."

<sup>5</sup> So we read in Judg. 18<sup>31</sup>, "So they set them up Micah's graven image which he made, all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh."

That Shiloh was a sacred place with a temple, rather than the temporary abiding-place of the tabernacle, appears also from Jeremiah. In 7<sup>12</sup> we read: "Go now unto my place which is in Shiloh, where I placed my name formerly, and see what I have done to it because of the wickedness of my people Israel" (see also v.<sup>14</sup>, and the parallel expression in 26<sup>6, 9</sup>). Jerusalem is here compared to Shiloh, whose sanctuary did not save it from destruction.<sup>6</sup>

The data for the determination of the character of this temple are quite insufficient for decisive results. But there are certain points which we can determine. There is no probability that this temple was built on the later model with a holy of holies where the ark was kept. That the people should take the ark into battle shows that they had no idea that it must be kept in a place so sacred that no one but the high priest might enter it. It is clear further that Samuel and Eli were sleeping on this eventful night in their accustomed places,<sup>7</sup> and that those places were not in the same room.<sup>8</sup> If Samuel slept in the sanctuary proper, Eli's place was either in another chamber of the temple, or in another building.<sup>9</sup> But it is highly probable that this temple had various rooms for different purposes, and the whole scene described with such graphic details finds its most natural explanation in the supposition that Eli and his minister slept in different apartments of the same building. If this is true, may it not be that Samuel also slept in a chamber of the temple rather than in the sanctuary itself?

We have already seen that the clause "where the ark of God was" does not define the place where Samuel slept. It is said that Samuel opened the doors of the temple in the morning, which could have been done at least as well from the outside as from the inside, the object being to open the temple for the visits of worshippers. The term *hēkal* would cover perfectly well the whole of such a structure, though in the temple of Solomon this word is generally used of the

<sup>6</sup> It is true that we are told in Josh. 18<sup>1</sup> that "all the company of the Israelites assembled at Shiloh, and set up there the tent of meeting"; but this is a late source (P), and would be this writer's natural way of stating the fact that there was a sanctuary at Shiloh.

<sup>7</sup> "Eli was lying in his place" (3<sup>2</sup>); "and Samuel went and lay down in his place" (3<sup>9</sup>).

<sup>8</sup> Samuel would not have mistaken the voice for Eli's if he had been in the same room. We read that Samuel "ran unto Eli" (3<sup>6</sup>); that he "got up and went unto Eli" (3<sup>9</sup>), an act which would be quite unnecessary if Eli were in the same room. In the morning Samuel went about his work, avoiding the priest until summoned into his presence (3<sup>12f</sup>). <sup>9</sup> This is Stade's view, *GVZ*. I. p. 201.

main body or nave outside the holy of holies. Moreover, one wonders whether sleeping in the sanctuary proper would not have been repugnant even to the people of Samuel's time. The extreme care which the later priests used to keep men out of the holiest parts of the temple,<sup>10</sup> may indeed be a late notion; but on the other hand, these late conceptions are often but the full development of the ideas of an earlier time. Among all the Semitic peoples there was great reverence for the sanctuary.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, it must be admitted that there are forcible reasons for the belief that Samuel slept in the sanctuary, as many modern scholars hold.<sup>12</sup> There is a passage in the older narrative<sup>13</sup> of Exodus which throws much light on this obscure situation. The custom of Moses in repairing to the tent of meeting is described in detail, the passage closing with these words: "But his (Moses') minister, Joshua the son of Nun, a servant, departed not from the tent" (33<sup>11</sup>). Joshua was minister to Moses as Samuel was to Eli (2<sup>11</sup>), the same term being used in each case; Joshua is called a *servant*, and the same term is applied to Samuel (2<sup>18</sup>).<sup>14</sup> The statement

<sup>10</sup> It is evident that the peculiar sanctity of the holy of holies was a growth, for the distinction between the two parts of the temple is less marked in Ezekiel than in the Priests' Code.

<sup>11</sup> I know of but one parallel in Semitic customs. Herodotus in describing the temple of Bel at Babylon says: "Inside the temple stands a couch of unusual size, richly adorned, with a golden table by its side." We are not left in doubt about the purpose of this couch: "Nor is the chamber occupied of nights by any one but a single native woman, who, as the Chaldeans, the priests of this god, affirm, is chosen for himself by the deity out of all the women of the land." The same writer tells us that a woman, debarred from all intercourse with men, passes the night in the temple of the Theban Jupiter (Amon); and that at Patara in Lycia the priestess who delivers the oracles is shut up in the temple every night. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, I. pp. 181, 182.

<sup>12</sup> W. R. Smith, *OTJC*<sup>2</sup>, p. 270; Stade, *GVI*, I. p. 201; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* II. p. 92; Reuss, *Das alte Testament, in loc.*; Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 39.

<sup>13</sup> Generally ascribed to E.

<sup>14</sup> The term used is נָעַר, which may mean a youth, as generally rendered in these passages; but the term is also applied to a servant, like the French *garçon* or the English 'boy,' especially in the Southern States; see 1 Sam. 2<sup>18</sup> "the servant of the priest," *ib.* 25<sup>14</sup> of the servants of Nabal. In 1<sup>24</sup> we have the familiar expression נָעַר נָעַר rendered in our versions, "and the child was young." Driver rightly says that this is incorrect, and that the words can only mean, "and the lad was a lad"; but he prefers to correct the text by changing the order, and adopting a hint of the LXX, reading thus: "and the mother of the lad came unto Eli; and the lad was with her." Wellhausen reached essentially the same conclusion. If the Hebrew text is correct, the passage is misplaced, and means "and the lad was a servant."

makes it plain that Joshua remained in the tent of meeting, even sleeping there, and that he acted as a guard or warder. Now it is but natural to suppose that Samuel's function at Shiloh was much the same, if not identical.<sup>15</sup> Samuel slept in the temple as a guard or warder, and so it is appropriately said that "he ministered to Jahweh" or literally "served the face of J." (2<sup>11</sup> 3<sup>1</sup>). Eli went to the temple where the people were likely to come. He was sitting on "the seat," the regular place for the priest, when Hannah came into the temple to pray (1<sup>9</sup>).

The natural place for Jahweh to appear was in the sanctuary, not in one of the adjoining chambers; so we read that "Jahweh came in and took his place and called" (3<sup>10</sup>). When Eli perceived that the Lord was calling his servant, he directed him to go back to his place and answer when he was called again. If Samuel had slept in a chamber distinct from the sanctuary, it would have been natural for Eli to send him to the holy place supposing that Jahweh was calling for him to come into his presence.

Finally, the term used in *Cod. Vat.* (*vaós*) means "the sanctuary proper"; the editor of the *Cod. Alex.* perceived the difficulty and rendered by the comprehensive term "house." It was certainly the understanding of the Greek translators that Samuel slept in the sanctuary.

<sup>15</sup> See Wellhausen, *Hist. Isr.* p. 39. According to Josephus, *Antiq.* V. 10. 4, Samuel was twelve years old at the time of this vision.

## The Zekenim, or Council of Elders.

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IT is my purpose in this paper to trace the history of the most ancient public organization known to us through Biblical sources. The council of elders began in the most remote period of the history of the nomadic Hebrews as a tribal council of the heads of the patriarchal families. After the settlement of the nomads in Palestine the organization of the elders adapted itself to the new conditions imposed by the agricultural life of the people, and the town or village council succeeded the tribal council. Its functions were judicial and executive. It was the sole authority in all matters affecting the common welfare of the community, and recognized no superior. It was a purely local authority, the scope of its activities being limited by the territorial confines of the community. It continued to exist, with functions more or less modified, down to the last days of the Jewish state, and it became the archetype of various institutions during the regal and post-exilic periods. It will be shown herein that the term "elders," as used in the Bible, has no uniform signification. The "elders of the towns," the "elders of the king," the "elders of the priests," the "elders of Israel," the "seventy elders" of Moses, — all these are bodies readily distinguishable from each other, but generally confounded. Finally, I have attempted to indicate that the *Ecclesia Magna*, that *crux historicorum*, is the legitimate successor of the council of elders, and bears some definite relation to the council of "elders of Israel" and the "seventy" of Moses.

In the primitive Hebrew nomadic family all powers were vested in the patriarch, whose rule was absolute and extended over all the members of his family. In the course of time, when the nomads became agriculturists, contiguity with other families developed some sort of inter-familial custom, which modified the ancient undisputed sway of the patriarch. Furthermore, their dwelling together developed common interests which had to be regulated by common consent. Every man could no longer do what was right in his own eyes, for his

right was limited by the equal right of other men in the community. It was soon discovered that personal security and peaceable possession of property are more easily assured to him who respects the person and property of others; and this simple doctrine became a rule of action, enforceable under penalty of the communal displeasure. Thus arose early customs and a system of consuetudinary law.

Authority was exercised among the nomads by the heads of the families of the tribe; and when these settled down to agricultural life, their jealousy of their ancient rights and their love of freedom prevented the rise of despots among them. Whenever the necessities of warfare required the concentration of authority in one hand, the community chose its chief and conferred power upon him, with the condition that he must resign his authority when the war was ended. By the term "community" we do not mean all the individuals, but only the heads of the families. Each family was a corporation, with the patriarch as its president, who sat with the other heads of the families, and formed with them a council of elders. This council of elders was the community. It was composed of the old men, the fathers, and not necessarily of the oldest men of the town.<sup>1</sup>

The councils of elders formed the beginnings of lawful public authority. A common inheritance of legal ideas, influenced by a common environment, produced something like uniformity in the customs and laws of the various communities. Upon this ancient organization of the council of elders was established the system of jurisprudence and the administration of affairs which prevailed until the exile, and which has continued in the dispersion down to our own times. It was a system of case-law built upon a foundation of custom.

There was no limit to the number composing the council of elders, this being determined entirely by the size of the community. The number seventy, which appears several times in the Bible, will be shown hereafter to have no importance in this respect, and no inference can be drawn from it as to the number of the council of elders in the regal and pre-regal days.<sup>2</sup>

As the patriarch represented his family and was responsible for its actions, so the council of elders represented the community, exercised all the communal powers, enforced all communal rights, and was burdened with the communal responsibilities.

When the kings became strong and enlightened enough to interfere

<sup>1</sup> The term "elder" corresponds to *paterfamilias*.

<sup>2</sup> I believe that the number seventy had a definite relation to the constitution of the Ecclesia Magna.

directly in the affairs of the several communities of the kingdom, royal judges and sheriffs (שפטים ושטרנים) were appointed; and these royal officials, exercising authority in the king's name, limited the powers of the ancient councils of elders.

After the captivity, when the kingship had disappeared in the ruins of the state, the council of elders survived and became the archetype of the Ecclesia Magna and the Sanhedrin of the last chapters of Jewish history in Palestine.

The institution of the elders was never destroyed; it continued as the source of law and authority in Israel from the earliest days to the latest. It formed the model for the royal councils, and seems to have influenced the organization of the priesthood. It was formally acknowledged by the sanhedrial authorities as the legitimate basis for their organization.

Separation of legislative, judicial, and executive functions is a late stage in civilization; but although no such separation existed in the days of the elders, it will be convenient for us to consider their functions separately so far as it is possible to differentiate them.

Legislation was foreign to the councils of elders. They administered the common law of the community. In course of time old law was changed, no one knew how. In later times legislation was held responsible for the changes, but the truth is that the changes were produced by minute differences in the application of general principles to particular cases. The uninterrupted interpretation of old laws in a living community under changing conditions of life in the course of time interpreted them out of existence.

The evidences for the judicial authority of the elders and for their method of administering justice are found chiefly in the Book of Deuteronomy. The cases there cited all show how the common law as interpreted by the elders gradually controlled, and eventually destroyed, the old family law under which the head of the family was the arbiter of the destinies of his dependents and exercised unlimited control over their persons.

Questions arising out of the taking of human life soon fell under the control of the elders. The blood-feud was the primitive means of doing justice during the time when family law prevailed; the punishment of the slayer was a private family matter, in which persons not of the family of the slayer and the slain had no interest. The endless chain of murders which it entailed could not be tolerated in a peaceable agricultural community, and public opinion acting through the elders sought to regulate it.

Ancient customs are not abolished; they are regulated and modified by common law until they finally disappear, or survive in symbolic acts or formulae. The various steps in the history of the punishment of the slayer may be traced as follows: First, it was a private matter affecting only the family whose representative took vengeance. Then it became a matter cognizable by the community in which the crime was committed, and the council of elders aided in discovering and punishing the slayer. Eventually, upon the establishment of the kingdom, the slayer was hunted down throughout the kingdom. The final stage, in which the crime is international in character, has been reached only in modern times, when extradition has supplanted sanctuary.

The first step in the regulation of the blood-feud was to determine the guilt of the slayer, to protect him if innocent, and to allow the avenger to kill him if guilty.<sup>3</sup>

In the account of the procedure in the Book of Joshua (Josh. 20<sup>1-9</sup>) the murderer is not admitted to the city of refuge until the elders of that city have heard his case *ex parte*, and if in their opinion a *prima facie* case of innocence is made out, he is admitted and guarded until the elders of the town in which the crime was committed have tried him. Upon the application of the elders of his own town the elders of the city of refuge deliver him for trial and punishment. This shows the influence of the national idea among the Hebrews, for the elders of one community recognize principles of comity in their dealings with the elders of other communities.

In case the murdered man was found in the open field, the elders of the surrounding towns joined in an investigation, and if they were unable to discover the murderer, they ascertained the nearest town by actual measurement, upon the theory that this would give the territorial limit within which the murder took place. This having been ascertained, all the elders of this town joined in a ceremony of expiation (Deut. 21<sup>4-8</sup>). Blood was shed for blood, and the responsibility for the crime was warded off by a solemn declaration of innocence.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The private nature of the crime is still recognized, for the slayer is handed over to the avenger to be killed (Deut. 19<sup>11-13</sup>). He was not stoned by the whole community as in other cases.

<sup>4</sup> It is probable that when the dead man was found within the limits of the town the elders of that town performed the ceremony of expiation, the preliminary inquiry being, of course, omitted. This ceremony of expiation bears the marks of great antiquity, and when the Deuteronomic Code was framed was still

In the case of the rebellious son we have a pertinent illustration of the interference of common law with the ancient absolute right of the patriarch over his own (Deut. 21<sup>18-21</sup>). The right of the father to inflict capital punishment on his son is at an end, for the matter has become subject to the jurisdiction of the elders. The son is now recognized as a member of the community for certain purposes, and not merely as a member of his father's family. He must be brought to the town gate for trial, and it is the sentence of the elders that condemns him to death and the hand of the people that kills him. There is no mention here of any "judges" or "priests" or other authorities; none but the elders of the town have jurisdiction of the case; the record does not even know of the existence of any other authorities.

Similarly in the case of the slanderer, the elders are the only authorities known to the record (Deut. 22<sup>13-21</sup>). This is also a family matter taken out of the domain of family law and made a *quasi*-public matter requiring the intervention of the elders. They try the case; fine the slanderer, if his charge is unfounded; and if the woman is guilty, condemn her to death.

In all of the cases thus far cited the elders have interfered with the family law when human life is involved in the issue. It is probable that in this branch of the law they interfered more readily because of the important consequences to the individual as well as to the community.

We have an illustration of their action in civil matters. When the case of the הלוצה came before them (Deut. 25<sup>5-10</sup>), they summoned the brother-in-law to perform his duty toward the widow,

in force. Since the kingdom was at that time well organized, royal judges sat along with the elders in all the towns for the trial of causes. Hence the addition of the words "and thy judges" in Deut. 21<sup>2</sup>. That these judges are the royal judges seems to have been preserved by a Rabbinical tradition, in *Talmud Babil*, *Sanhedrin*, 14 b: וְקִנְיָן וְשׁוֹפֵטִין (Deut. 21<sup>2</sup>), "ר' אליעזר בן יעקב אומר: 'רצא וקנין ושופטין', מלך דכתיב: 'מלך במשפט יעמיד ארץ' (Deut. 17<sup>9</sup>) 'בהן גדול דכתיב: 'ובאת אל הכהנים הלויים ואל השופט' (Prov. 29<sup>4</sup>): i.e. Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob says: "Then thy elders and thy judges shall come forth" (Deut. 21<sup>2</sup>). The elders are the Sanhedrin and the judges are the king and the high priest. The king, as it is written: "The king by judgment establisheth the land" (Prov. 29<sup>4</sup>). The high priest, as it is written: "And thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites, and unto the judge" (Deut. 17<sup>9</sup>). This tradition seems to have preserved the fact of the comparatively late origin of the *shophetim* and of the high priest, and of the antiquity of the council of elders, the "Sanhedrin."

and in their presence the penalty for refusal was inflicted upon him.<sup>5</sup>

The elders being strictly local functionaries, their executive duties were primarily connected with matters of merely local interest, such as the regulation of landmarks and boundary lines, the maintenance of order, the attestation of formal acts. No important matters involving title or possession of property were concluded without their presence; they were the official witnesses. They preserved the traditions of the people (Deut. 32<sup>1</sup> Joel 1<sup>2</sup>). They were the living storehouses of the ancient customs and of the common law of their communities, and by a fiction similar to that known to English law they carried all the law in their breast, drawing in all cases upon a theoretically inexhaustible stock of precedents and decisions. They knew the judgment (Job 32<sup>9</sup>), their age and great experience gave them wisdom (Ps. 119<sup>100</sup>) and entitled them to special honor (Lev. 19<sup>32</sup>).<sup>6</sup>

The elders sit at their official place of meeting for the purpose of attending to the business of the community. It may be presumed that they had regular meeting days, but whether this be the case or not, it is apparent that they were within reach of any one requiring their attendance. When Boaz redeemed the inheritance of Elimelech, it had to be done in the presence of the elders at the gate. The account of this legal ceremony (Ruth 4<sup>1-11</sup>) seems to point to the fact that the number of the elders was indefinite and that a quorum might

<sup>5</sup> Another link in the argument for the antiquity of the "elders" as compared with the "judges" may be cited — the "matter of controversy" treated of in the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter of Deuteronomy immediately before the case of the *חִלְצֵה*. In that record the *shophet* is the sole judge, and he directs the infliction of forty stripes as a punishment. The late institution of the *shophetim* is attested by Deut. 16<sup>18</sup>, but nowhere do we find any record of the establishment of councils of elders; they existed from time immemorial. It is fair to argue also that the ceremony of *חִלְצֵה* is a much older institution than the punishment by forty stripes. The former is connected with the elders and the latter with the royal judges. Indeed the infliction of punishment with the rod or lash smacks of oriental despotism, and is not to be associated with the free life in the ancient pre-regal days. In those days a freeman was punished by the *lex talionis* or by a fine, and only slaves were beaten (Ex. 21<sup>21</sup>); but when the kingship was well established, the relation of king and subject became that of master and slave, and royal justice punished the subject as the master punished his slave (cf. 1 Sam. 8<sup>11-15</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> The praise of the virtuous woman is not complete without reference to the distinction that she confers on her husband who sits with the elders of the land (Prov. 31<sup>23</sup>). The garments which she has made for him make him well known in the gates.

consist of ten of them. The people who were standing about when the formalities were concluded were likewise called upon to witness, but it seems that the elders in attendance who had been specially summoned were the official witnesses, the others being merely supplementary.

As the official heads of the town the elders of Bethlehem came forth to welcome Samuel (1 Sam. 16<sup>4</sup>).<sup>7</sup> In the conduct of affairs with other communities the elders were the representatives of their own community. We have seen how the elders of the different towns together investigated the case of the murdered man whose slayer is unknown. The elders of the town of Gibeon sent out their emissaries for the purpose of concluding a treaty with Joshua. These emissaries spoke in the name of the elders and of all the inhabitants (*senatus populusque*). The elders were the government, which had authorized them to speak for it and the community which they represented (Josh. 9<sup>11</sup>).

In time of war the elders retained their authority, though they usually conferred the military headship on some man of distinguished prowess. The wars of the pre-regal days in Palestine were mostly petty tribal conflicts and did not have the far-reaching effects of the wars under the kings. Hence in the early days we do not find that highly organized military establishment which afterward became necessary. Often the elders retained charge of affairs during the war and apparently did not elect a leader. When Nahash the Ammonite besieged Jabesh Gilead, the elders of the town treated with him, secured an armistice, and sent for help to the neighboring Israelitish tribes (1 Sam. 11<sup>8</sup>).

Gideon on his return from his successful pursuit of Zebah and Zalmunnah punished the elders of the town of Sukkoth. It seems from the whole narrative that Gideon considered the elders to be the representative and responsible heads of the community, and it was because they had refused to help him that he took his revenge.<sup>8</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> יִזְרְחוּ לִקְרָאתוֹ means "and they hastened toward him." There is nothing in the story to warrant the translation "they trembled." They simply greeted with acclamation the well-known seer who honored their town with his presence.

<sup>8</sup> In Judg. 8<sup>6-16</sup> it was the שָׂרִים (v.<sup>6</sup>) who refused him bread, and they are later on called the אֲנָשֵׁי סִכֵּית (v.<sup>8</sup>). This term is properly applicable to the elders, they were the men of the town. The *sarim* were the chief men of the elders, either their appointees or their military officers. The number here is curious, seventy and seven. Were there seventy elders and seven *sarim*? The *sarim* who are here mentioned may have been the chief military men, who were chosen by the elders, and who after the wars had retained a certain preëminence which may have become hereditary.

erection of the military leader is shown in the case of Jephthah. On being invited to assume the headship he declined to accept it until he had the official assurance that after the war he would not have to lay down his office but would remain their civil ruler, their זָקֵן. To this the elders of Gilead agreed, and it was in this manner that the idea of kingship probably originated among the Hebrews.<sup>9</sup>

The necessity for the concentration of authority in time of danger was no doubt taught the people by sore experience. An illustration of this was given when the elders of Israel suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the Philistines (1 Sam. 4<sup>th</sup>) because of the lack of effective military organization. It was experiences like these that paved the way for the kingship. Other neighboring nations had preceded the Hebrews on the road to monarchy, and their successes in their enterprises must have strongly contrasted with the many reverses of Israel, which had no strong hand to rule and to guide its military affairs.

The choice of temporary military leaders was, as we have seen, one of the duties of the elders of the towns in time of war. When, however, the war became general, and especially when foreign foes threatened the land, the selection of different chieftains by the various communities naturally weakened them and produced discord instead of union. The need of one strong leader for all the people brought the various communities of Israel into closer union and led to the election of a king. The war with Sisera proved the difficulty of uniting the tribes against the common foe without a strong central power. Thus danger, acting conjointly with other influences, led to the monarchy. The old nomadic separateness in the course of time gave way to a feeling of union promoted by long contiguity of settlement in the land, and intermarriage led to the breaking down of the ancient tribal boundaries. The times now called for the right man to be king. With Saul begins a new chapter in the history of Israel.

It is probably true that the dangers of the kingship were not unknown to the people, and that the old deep feeling of freedom bred amid the wandering life of the nomads rebelled against the authority of one man. They had enough examples of petty chieftains who had arrogated rights and powers which the ancient constitution of the people had not contemplated, but the real or apparent necessity of the times overrode all such considerations, and the people

<sup>9</sup> In Judg. 11<sup>5-11</sup> the military chieftain is termed the קַיִן; he is also the שָׂר, in contradistinction to the זָקֵן, who seems to have been the civil head.

chose their king. "And there was a king (elected) in Jeshurun, when the assembly (עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל) met, all the tribes of Israel together" (Deut. 33<sup>5</sup>). Their defeat and subjection by the Philistines united them, and at their meeting at Ramah, having taken counsel concerning the affairs of the nation, they concluded that the king was their only hope against their enemy.<sup>10</sup>

Saul had proven his skill and valor against the Ammonites and perhaps in other unrecorded campaigns. It is to be presumed that, when the chief men of the land gathered to choose a king, they would not select an unknown youth, but would look among the approved warriors for their leader.

After the death of Saul David was chosen by the elders of the various towns of Judah in congress assembled, while Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, was hailed king by the rest of Israel. Abner, an adherent of the house of Saul, conspired against Ishbosheth and addressed the elders of Israel for the purpose of turning them toward David (2 Sam. 3<sup>17</sup>), and after the death of Ishbosheth the elders of Israel went to Hebron and chose David as their king (2 Sam. 5<sup>1-3</sup>).<sup>11</sup>

The establishment of the monarchy did not change the status of

<sup>10</sup> The reason given in 1 Sam. 8<sup>1-6</sup> is entirely insufficient to account for the election of the king. The existence of two corrupt judges in the extreme south of Judah could never have been the leading motive for the election of a king over all Israel by a great assembly of the tribes. Verse 6 suggests the truer reason: "Give us a king to rule us like the other nations," a strong man to rid us of our foes and to establish order in the land. The "elders of Israel," who are mentioned in v. 4 as the active parties, are in v. 10 referred to as the עַם, like the "עַם הָאֱרֶץ" in Gen. 23<sup>7</sup>, where only the council of the Hittites is meant. The elders were *the* people, the people of Israel as they are called in 1 Sam. 8<sup>22</sup>. The reference to the sons of Samuel, whose corruption is assigned as the reason for the election of the king, might have been written in the interest of one of the kings. When the kingship had been firmly established and the king began to interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom, he appointed judges to sit in the towns with the elders. The uniform administration of the law and the supplanting of the local courts by his appointees would add to his might and renown. May not this tradition of the corrupt sons of Samuel have been used by the later kings to oust the elders and to substitute their own judges? The plea that the elders were corrupt would, if found true in a few cases, serve as an ample excuse for a general reform of the whole system of administering justice in the kingdom.

<sup>11</sup> The passage in Deut. 33<sup>5</sup> will again be recalled. All the tribes of Israel went to Hebron to David, and there the elders (probably it was they who constituted the עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל) elected David their king. He then entered into a covenant with them before they anointed him, probably fixing the limitations of his sovereignty and his relations with the ancient authorities of the land who had chosen him.

the councils of elders in the towns of the kingdom. It was the business of the king to wage war, build fortresses and palaces, raise taxes for these purposes and for the purpose of furnishing him with funds with which to enjoy the luxuries of peace. All other affairs of the kingdom were conducted as before by the local authorities. There were no laws made for the kingdom other than the laws governing the organization of the troops, nor did the kings interfere with the administration of the laws of the several communities in their kingdom. It is a remarkable fact that no king except David is recorded to have made laws, and it is only when we consider that the king was the war-lord that we can understand this fact. David is credited with the authorship of one law, regulating the division of the spoils of war, and this before he became king (1 Sam. 30<sup>23-25</sup>). Beyond the occasional visit of the tax gatherers and the recruiting officers, the people in the towns and villages of the kingdom hardly felt any change in their affairs after the monarchy had been established. Their councils of elders continued to administer their laws and to regulate their affairs. Of course they now had an appeal to the king; not that there was any legal process of appeal, but that the king's power was great enough to interfere occasionally with the decisions of the elders.<sup>12</sup> In his own city the king was the overlord and personally sat in judgment. In Num. 22<sup>4-7</sup> the elders of Moab and Midian go out as the king's emissaries.

Saul recognized the importance of the elders when he begged Samuel to show him honor before the elders of his people (1 Sam. 15<sup>30</sup>), *i. e.* the elders of Benjamin, or perhaps the elders of his town. It is not at all clear that there were elders of the tribes organized like the elders of the towns. On important occasions the elders of the tribe may have acted conjointly, but they did not form an organization like the town elders. It is more likely that the elders of the tribes were merely the town elders gathered for some special purpose and for a time acting together. When David sends of the spoils of war to the elders of Judah, the explanation is immediately made that these are the elders of the various towns enumerated in the text and the elders of all the places where David and his men were wont to go (1 Sam. 30<sup>28-31</sup>; see also 2 Sam. 19<sup>11 f.</sup>).

There is no evidence that the rulers of the northern kingdom ever attempted to do away with the administration of the elders in their respective communities. We have no record of any general system

<sup>12</sup> See the case of the woman of Tekoah (2 Sam. 14<sup>11</sup>).

of legal procedure such as is recorded of the kingdom of Judah. As late as the reign of Ahab the trial of cases was left to the local tribunals, the elders; witness the trial of Naboth (1 Kings 21<sup>8</sup>). It is true that in this case the elders were intimidated by the king's power, but their right to act as judges seems not to be questioned.

In a similar manner Jehu terrorized the elders of Samaria, and while ostensibly inviting them to choose a king from among the sons of Ahab, really compelled them to elect him king after having killed the sons of Ahab (2 Kings 10<sup>1, 3, 7</sup>).<sup>13</sup>

In the southern kingdom the organization of the courts of law is ascribed by a late chronicler to King Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. 19<sup>8</sup>). The system there outlined has marked resemblance to the system of organization mentioned in Deuteronomy (Deut. 16<sup>18 sq.</sup> 17<sup>8 sq.</sup>). The *shophetim* appointed by the kings sat with the elders, but the records give no positive indication how far they interfered with the authority of the elders. In Isaiah's time, at least one hundred years after Jehoshaphat, the elders were still the responsible heads of the community (Is. 3<sup>14</sup> 24<sup>22</sup>), and when King Josiah, only one generation before the destruction of the first temple, promulgated the new law found in the temple, he summoned the elders of Jerusalem and of the towns of Judah as the representatives of their communities (2 Kings 23<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. 34<sup>29</sup>). The trial of Jeremiah affords us a glimpse into the condition of affairs at the very end of the monarchy (Jer. 26<sup>8-17</sup>). The trial took place in the capital, where the king could freely assert his royal will and pleasure, and where, according to the report of this trial, it seems that the elders had been entirely superseded as judges by the king's officers. The elders are mentioned in the narrative, but only as bearing testimony in Jeremiah's favor by citing a similar case which occurred during the reign of King Hezekiah.

Mention is sometimes made in the narratives of the time of the kings of a body called the *זקני ישראל*. *A priori* we should say that such a body could not have existed at that time. In the pre-regal days, when the tribes were but lately arrived in the land and still preserved the old tribal spirit, and later, when the various communities of the land lived without a king, each man doing what was right in his own eyes, such an organization as the "elders of Israel," by its name obviously intended to be a body representing all the people,

<sup>13</sup> During the siege of Samaria the elders of that city sat with Elisha, probably conferring with him concerning the affairs of the city or receiving a divine oracle. Or was Elisha in Dothan?

was manifestly impossible. When we turn to the evidence for this organization in the time of the kings, we find that the term is used to denominate temporary and extraordinary assemblages of the elders of the different towns, as when Ahab summoned the elders of his kingdom to meet and confer with him concerning the invasion of the kingdom by Benhadad (1 Kings 20<sup>7-8</sup>). It is thus used by the chronicler when he speaks of the elders of Israel accompanying David to escort the ark from the house of Obed Edom to Jerusalem (1 Chron. 15<sup>23</sup>), and of their presence at the dedication of the temple by King Solomon (2 Chron. 5<sup>2-4</sup>).<sup>14</sup>

The use of the term "elders of Israel" in connection with the rebellion of Absalom shows quite clearly that it was not intended to signify a body of the elders of all Israel. Absalom had a following consisting of only a small party in the kingdom of Judah (2 Sam. 17<sup>1, 15</sup>).

The ancient and honorable title of "elders" was adopted by the men of the king's household. His advisers and the high officers forming his court and attending his person became known as the "king's elders" or the "elders of the king's house." These functionaries, who came into existence at the time of the monarchy, were merely titular elders, and are not to be confounded with the elders of the town councils. The *וְקֵנֵי בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ* were in fact a higher order of servants, somewhat like the lords who attended the person of the feudal sovereign, and who even considered their offices, usually associated with inferiority of station, a mark of distinction. Thus the king had his butler and his baker and his chamberlains, all of whom were high officials, and who, though occupying menial positions in the king's house, were considered noblemen by the less favored freemen. These were the elders of the house. Thus Eliezer was the elder of Abraham's household (Gen. 24<sup>3</sup>). Pharaoh had his elders of the house, who are stated to be his servants (Gen. 50<sup>7</sup>) and are distinguished from the elders of Egypt. If this narrative of Joseph in Egypt is not an accurate representation of conditions in

<sup>14</sup> See also 1 Kings 81<sup>3</sup>. The late authorship of the Book of Chronicles may account for this term "elders of Israel." Written after the exile, when, as we shall see, "elders of Israel" was the title of the elders of the little community that had been reestablished upon the ruins of the kingdom, it is not at all remarkable that the term is used of the elders of former times, who to the writer must have appeared as a body similar to the one with which he was familiar. In 1 Chron. 21<sup>16</sup> he speaks of the elders who were with David at the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite. These may be understood similarly, or may be taken to be the elders of Jerusalem.

Egypt, but reflects conditions in Palestine, it becomes all the more important for our argument. It shows the distinction between the titular elders of the king's house and the real elders of the land.<sup>15</sup>

David and Solomon had their *וְקֵנֵי הַבַּיִת* who were their intimate councillors, and, no doubt, the other kings both of Israel and of Judah had similar bodies of men attached to their persons (2 Sam. 12<sup>17</sup> 1 Kings 12<sup>6-13</sup> 2 Chron. 10<sup>6-13</sup>). The officers who tried Jeremiah are said to have come from the king's house to the house of the Lord for the purpose of hearing the case (Jer. 26<sup>10</sup>).

We find the term "elders of the priests" used on two occasions, Is. 37<sup>2</sup> (= 2 Kings 19<sup>2</sup>) and Jer. 19<sup>1</sup>, first when King Hezekiah sent his officers and the elders of the priests to Isaiah for advice, and again, when Jeremiah took the elders of the priests and of the people to the gate for the purpose of declaring to them the fate of the nation. It must be presumed that the priests had some sort of organization, probably framed upon the model of the ancient councils of elders.<sup>16</sup>

After the destruction of the city and the captivity of the king and the people the old constitution seems to have been destroyed, and the old landmarks of law, religion, and society seem to have been swept away. But, as soon as the exiles had established themselves in their home in the "*golah*," the beginnings of organization were made. Monarchy was out of question, there could be no *regnum in regno*, and a king without land and without kingdom was an impossibility. The priesthood had not lost its importance, yet without a temple it was deprived of its principal field of activity. The only authorities that could be transplanted without losing their strength were the elders, and we find that the "elders of Israel" in the *golah* were the heads of the people. It is the elders who are spoken of in the visions of Ezekiel, in the Lamentations, and in the epistle of Jeremiah to the exiles. In the exile the people were the "people of Israel," without the distinction of tribe and community that may have existed before, and their chiefs became the "elders of Israel." It is probable that the elders of Israel as a governing body first came into existence during the exile. They are at times referred to as the elders of Judah, the great majority of the exiles giving the name of their old kingdom to the whole community in

<sup>15</sup> In Ps. 105<sup>22</sup> the elders are mentioned as the king's advisers whom Joseph teaches wisdom. In Job 12<sup>17-21</sup> they are enumerated among the notables.

<sup>16</sup> The above references by no means prove that the priests copied the organization of the elders; in their organization, as in other bodies, seniority no doubt conferred certain distinction and preëminence.

Babylonia. Indeed, *a priori* it would be expected that during the period of seventy years and more of exile, when the people were thrown together as one community, the old barriers that locality and tribal descent created in Palestine would be swept away. The people must have become conscious that they were one nation, sharing a common exile and looking toward a common future, and this feeling must have united them as nothing else could have done. They were then no longer men of Jerusalem, or of Hebron, or of Bethlehem, but men of Israel or men of Judah, terms which began to be used interchangeably and soon became synonymous. And, of course, the change of name of the people would change the title of the elders. It was the elders of Judah who were in consultation with Ezekiel, and to whom he related his vision, and it was seventy "elders of the house of Israel" whom he saw sacrificing to idols.<sup>17</sup>

We know little of the constitution of the council of elders during the exile. The surviving members of the nobility, of the royal family, and of the chief priestly families probably were among the leaders of the people, and with other leading heads of families formed the "elders of Israel."<sup>18</sup> In the Book of Lamentations the *sarim*, priests, and elders are spoken of as the heads of the community; the kingdom is no more. The elders no longer sit at the gate to attend to the business of their several communities, but they sit on the ground in mourning at the destruction of Jerusalem. They are honored neither by their own people nor by the invader, and finally succumb to the sufferings entailed by the siege (Lam. 5<sup>14</sup> 2<sup>10</sup> 4<sup>16</sup> 5<sup>12</sup> 1<sup>19</sup>). "The law has perished from the priest and counsel from the elders."<sup>19</sup>

In the epistle of Jeremiah, they are termed זקני הגולה and with the priests and prophets formed the heads of the community in exile

<sup>17</sup> In Ezek. 81. 11. 12 <sup>96</sup> the term זקני בית ישראל is used for the first time. It seems to be a term including the notion of the elders of the towns and the elders of the king. Here Israel's house is the term used. Israel as a theocratic commonwealth has succeeded to the monarchy. In other passages Ezekiel speaks of the elders as זקני ישראל Ezek. 14<sup>1</sup> 20<sup>1-3</sup>, and he refers to the elders of Gebal in Phoenicia as we have been accustomed to speak of the council of elders of the towns of Judah (Ezek. 27<sup>9</sup>).

<sup>18</sup> May not the beginnings of the Ecclesia Magna and the Sanhedrin have been made here? Like these bodies, the various orders had their representation in the chief governing body of the exiles.

<sup>19</sup> The reference to the elders in this passage seems to indicate that the king's elders are meant. In the parallel passage in Jeremiah 18<sup>18</sup> the "elder" becomes the "sage."

(Jer. 29<sup>1</sup>). Thus we have seen how the captivity welded the people together, and how out of the remnants of the old town elders was formed the body known as the "elders of the *golah*" and then the "elders of Judah" or the "elders of Israel." These were the men who afterward returned to reconstruct the state, and they carried back into Palestine the new form that the old organization of the elders had assumed. It was the archetype of the great governing bodies, the Ecclesia Magna and the Sanhedrin, which succeeded each other in unbroken succession.

It is probably true that among those who remained in Palestine and had not been carried into captivity the old form of local government remained. We shall find traces of the old town elders after the return, but the practical government of the little state was never henceforth taken from the "elders of Israel" at Jerusalem, except through royal usurpation.

After the return from the captivity we at first hear little of the elders. The appointee of the Persian king is the governor of the commonwealth, and the priestly organization exercises important influence in political affairs. After reading of שרים and סננים in the narrative of Ezra we are suddenly reminded of the elders. The elders and the *sarim* are the ones who have issued the summons to the "sons of the captivity" to gather together at Jerusalem (Ezra 10<sup>6</sup>). The compactness of the community is indicated by the fact that it could be summoned and could assemble within three days. The elders are the "elders of Israel" at the capital, who act conjointly with the *sarim*. A trace of the old town elders is found in the 14th verse. The זקנים and the שפטים of each town are summoned to appear at the capital. The latter are the old royal judges who survived the destruction of the state and who were not deported.<sup>20</sup>

If the prophecy of Joel is post-exilic, we have in it important evidence of the government of the community. It speaks of priests and elders as the only authorities. The prophet addresses the elders as the heads of the community and the bearers of its traditions, and he summons them to the house of God to pray for help (Joel 1<sup>1-2, 14</sup>).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The *sarim* who were sworn by Ezra (10<sup>6</sup>) were not the *sarim* of Israel but of the priests and Levites; the rest of the people are simply referred to as "all Israel." As it is manifestly improbable that the whole people were sworn, this may be taken to refer to the elders of Israel, who as the heads of the community could by their oaths bind their constituents.

<sup>21</sup> In the passages 2<sup>16</sup> and 3<sup>1</sup> the term "elders" seems to have been used in the sense of old men and not in its technical legal signification.

Were these elders of post-exilic days the men who constituted the Great Synagogue? Every community requires some form of government. We find that during the time of Ezra the elders were still among the governors of the community, and it is probable that the tenacity of this old institution which amid many destructive influences preserved it in former days carried it down to the time of the Sanhedrin. If so, why not under the name of *בֵּנֵי הַזִּקְנִים*? Was it the session of the elders referred to in Psalm 107<sup>22</sup>? Was its number eventually fixed at seventy? These are questions that perhaps cannot be answered with certainty, but we are not left entirely without evidence on the subject.

We are now prepared to consider the several references to the elders in the Pentateuch other than those already discussed. These were references to the elders of the towns, and not the elders of all Israel. The references now to be considered are to the "elders of all Israel" and to the "seventy elders" of Moses. What do we know of the "elders of all Israel"? Only this, — that at certain times, in periods of great danger or in matters of public importance, the elders of the different communities were called together to confer concerning the common weal. But of an institution regularly organized and existing at all times we have had no evidence until we considered the period of the exile. Is it fair to argue from this fact that the portions of the Pentateuch containing references to the "elders of all Israel" cannot have been pre-exilic in their present literary form? If this is not assumed, how can the reference to the "elders of Israel" be accounted for? We do not see any solution except the theory that this institution was fully organized in Egypt, existed in the desert, and then was lost upon entering Canaan. For such a theory we can find no evidence.

The writers who gave us the books of the Pentateuch in their present form conceived of the people existing under one head and organization in a compact community such as existed in post-exilic times. They have projected their conception into the distant past, thereby assigning to the institution an antiquity which it by no means enjoyed.<sup>22</sup> All the references in Deuteronomy and Joshua, with the exception of those already considered, can be understood only upon this theory.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> I do not venture to enter the field of literary criticism. Its paths are too devious to be trodden by any one except the trained philologist. I have endeavored to build up my argument from a study of the institution, and not of the literary value of the documents in which the references to it appear.

<sup>23</sup> In Deut. 5<sup>20</sup> the elders are mentioned together with the *ro'shim* of the tribes.

In all the passages referred to in note <sup>20</sup>, and in other passages to be referred to hereafter, a common characteristic is the lack of any reason for the existence of the "elders of Israel." They are introduced without any apparent necessity, and they do nothing; all the work is done by Moses, by Joshua, or by the priests. Is this because the leading figures in the scene are of such magnitude that all others fall into insignificance? Then why did the writer introduce the elders in minor parts? The solution of this problem seems to be as follows: The writer had a mass of traditions of Moses and his wondrous deeds from which to construct his narrative. He was not able entirely to throw off the influence of the conditions of his own times in which the elders of Israel at Jerusalem were the protagonists; hence he introduced the elders as the coadjutors of Moses and Joshua; and having mentioned them as such, was content to follow the ancient traditions which naturally ascribed to Moses and Joshua the greatest part of the work to be done. The fact that the elders are given nothing to do in the narrative seems to be a fair reason for considering their introduction into the narrative as *ex post facto*.

When Moses commanded the law to be inscribed on stones the elders are said to have joined in the issuing of the command (Deut. 27<sup>1</sup>); but the command is in the first person singular, and in the following verses (Deut. 27<sup>9-11</sup>) the elders are ignored entirely.

On another occasion Moses calls the elders of the tribes and the **שָׁטְרִים** together to instruct them (Deut. 31<sup>28</sup>); and to the priests and to all the elders he confided the law, directing them to instruct the people in it periodically that it might not be forgotten (Deut. 31<sup>9-13</sup>). Such gatherings were unknown before the time when King Josiah assembled the people to promulgate the new law found in the temple.

Once in the Priestly Code the elders are mentioned as having received a law concerning sacrifices (Lev. 9<sup>1</sup>). Although Moses is said to have called Aaron and his sons and the elders of Israel together for this purpose, the entire charge is to Aaron alone. A very remarkable passage prescribes a sin-offering for the sin of the entire **עֵדָה**. If the entire **עֵדָה** sins, the **קָהָל** offers a sacrifice and the elders of the **עֵדָה** place their hands upon the head of the sacrificial animal to make atonement. If the **עֵדָה** is the whole congregation of Israel, then the **קָהָל** is a body of its selectmen, and the elders of the **עֵדָה**

If there were any tribal officials in post-exilic days, it must have been as survivals in name, not in fact. In Deut. 29<sup>9</sup> the same point arises. See also Josh. 23<sup>2</sup>, 24<sup>1</sup>, 24<sup>31</sup>, Judg. 2<sup>7</sup>, Josh. 7<sup>6</sup>, 8<sup>10</sup>. <sup>32</sup>.

seems to be a term synonymous with *קְהָל*. At any rate, the reference is to a community organized as the community in post-exilic times, under a central government, with a highly organized priesthood, and a body of selectmen at the head of the community who make expiation for its wrongdoings, even as the elders of the towns made expiation for the blood shed in their boundaries.<sup>24</sup>

In the story of the Exodus we find the same problem. It is difficult to understand what part the elders played in that great drama. God tells Moses (Ex. 3<sup>16-18</sup>) to gather the elders of Israel in Egypt and go with them before Pharaoh to ask for the freedom of the people. Moses and Aaron gather the elders and tell them all that God has said (Ex. 4<sup>29</sup>), and then the elders are completely forgotten and Moses and Aaron go before Pharaoh without them (Ex. 5<sup>1</sup>). Afterward they are instructed in the manner of offering the Passover sacrifice (Ex. 12<sup>21</sup>), and the miracle of obtaining water from the rock is performed in the presence of some of them (Ex. 17<sup>3-6</sup>). They take part in the holy meal with Jethro (Ex. 18<sup>12</sup>), but immediately afterward they are again forgotten, for in the account of the organization of the judicial system to relieve Moses from the task of judging all the people, we find no reference to the elders; and yet we know that they were the ancient judges than whom none were more legitimate. Moses does not so recognize them nor does Jethro, and the latter does not allude to them when advising Moses how to select his associate judges. What then were the functions of the "elders of Israel" in Moses' time? They had none at all, for they were a figment of the imagination of the writer who projected back into Moses' time an institution that did not exist until after the exile.<sup>25</sup>

Up to this point we have heard nothing of the number of the elders except in the vision of Ezekiel, where there appear to have been seventy, and in the reference to the elders and *sarim* of Sukkoth who together were seventy and seven. In all the other references given the number seventy is either entirely precluded by the context, or is a matter of indifference, and in none of them is the number seventy requisite to the sense of the passage. In the reference in Ezekiel there is no fixed institution of seventy elders, but merely a reference to seventy of the elders of Israel. In Ex. 24<sup>1, 9, 10, 11, 14</sup> Moses is told to take Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu and seventy of the

<sup>24</sup> Does this body of elders of the *קְהָל* reflect the Ecclesia Magna? See Judg. 21, especially v. 16. Is the reference in Lev. 19<sup>32</sup> to the member of the supreme council, the Ecclesia Magna, or is it merely an injunction to honor old age?

<sup>25</sup> See also Ex. 19<sup>7</sup> and Num. 16<sup>20</sup>.

elders of Israel and go up with them to God ; this is done, the elders see God and are not harmed. These elders also have no active functions ; on the contrary, when Moses goes up into the mountain to get the two tablets of stone, he appoints Aaron and Hur as temporary heads during his absence and directs the elders to refer their business to them. He apparently does not recognize them as men in authority.

The seventy previously referred to were *of* the elders but were not a body organized with seventy as their fixed number. Here we have the beginning of the idea of a council of seventy not yet definitely and finally formulated. But when we turn to the account of the seventy in Num. 11<sup>16, 17, 24-30</sup> we are at once struck with the difference. Here the seventy are a body of elders, picked men, who are chosen by God to act with Moses and relieve him of the burden of his work, and perform some of his duties. Of Jethro's system there is no suggestion in this passage ; it is ignored as completely as the elders are ignored in it. This body of seventy is conceived by the writer to have been organized as a fixed number with great solemnity, and with the divine spirit specially given to them to be the chief men of Israel and assume the burden of its affairs.

This, I think, is the *Ecclesia Magna*, for which the writer thus finds a sacred and ancient origin.

## Notes on Acts xiii. 9 and on Assumptio Mosis ix.

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**Acts 13<sup>9</sup>: Σαῦλος δέ, ὁ καὶ Παῦλος.**

Ctesias (ed. Baehr), p. 76, § 48: βασιλεύει Ὁχος, καὶ μετονομάζεται Δαρειαῖος.

Ib., § 49: βασιλεύει οὖν μόνος Ὁχος, ὁ καὶ Δαρειαῖος.

The fragment of Ctesias (fl. 400 B.C.) in which this example of the elliptical ὁ καί with a double name occurs, is preserved by Photius (*Bibl.* LXXII. pp. 106 ff.). If the expression stood in the original, this is much the earliest example of the construction known. W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus*, III. 338, has no case older than an inscription of Antiochus Epiphanes. See also Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 181 ff.

**Assumption of Moses 9: "A man of the tribe of Levi, whose name will be Ταχο."**

Is not the basis of this story the history of Mattathias as given in 1 Macc. 2?

1. a) *Marrathías* is the Greek equivalent for מַתְתִּיָּה. Cf. Ezra 10<sup>48</sup> (LXX 9<sup>49</sup>) Neh. 8<sup>4</sup> 1 Chron. 9<sup>31</sup>: see also מַתְתִּיָּהוּ, 1 Chron. 15<sup>18, 21, 25<sup>3, 21</sup></sup>.

b) מַתְתִּיָּה is derived from מָתַן: Gesenius, *Lex. s.v.*, and Fuerst, *Lex. s.v.*

c) In LXX the verb τάσσω occurs as the translation of the Hebrew verb מָתַן. Cf. 1 Chron. 16<sup>4, 7</sup>.

d) The original of the book was probably Hebrew or Aramaic (see, e.g. Charles, *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xxxviii. ff.).

2. The speech of Taxo reminds one of the parting words of Mattathias (1 Macc. 2<sup>49 ff.</sup>):

a) It is a time of oppression and suffering: cf. 9<sup>2f.</sup> with 1 Macc. 2<sup>49</sup>.

b) The sons are exhorted to remember the deeds of their fathers: cf. 9<sup>4</sup> with 1 Macc. 2<sup>51 ff.</sup>

c) Their strength comes from trust in and obedience to God: cf. 9<sup>b</sup> with 1 Macc. 2<sup>61</sup>.

3. Seven sons are mentioned. This directs attention to 2 Macc. 7. The story of Mattathias and his five sons is here confounded with that of the seven brethren and their mother.

This is not a unique phenomenon. A similar instance is found in the book of Daniel, a book which belongs to the same class of writings as the Assumption of Moses. Four centuries intervene between the date of the book of Daniel and the date of the events therein described. The date of the pollution of the temple is 168 B.C. The Assumption of Moses belongs to the first decade of the Christian era. And these were troublous times: and the confounding is one of lesser details.

4. The attitude of Taxo is that of passive submission to death (cf. 1 Macc. 2<sup>29</sup><sup>ff.</sup>): Mattathias was a military figure. But the Chasidim accepted the advice of Mattathias and prepared for and waged war, 1 Macc. 2<sup>42</sup><sup>ff.</sup>. And the words of Taxo in 9<sup>b</sup> need not necessarily imply a refusal to fight in defence of life. Taxo's resolve was to die rather than turn from the religion of his fathers to the worship of strange gods. And if the point of passive endurance be insisted upon, we may point again to 1 Macc. 2<sup>36</sup><sup>ff.</sup> and reply that the author has simply neglected the perspective and mixed things up. The death of the thousand martyrs roused the pious Jew and made him not only a martyr but a soldier-martyr. It was when religious liberty was in a measure assured and the war became a struggle for political independence that the Chasidim withdrew from the Maccean standard.

## Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual.\*

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IN a footnote of my paper on "The Origin of the Pentateuch," read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, March 1894,<sup>1</sup> I pointed out that the Hexateuchal Priestly Code seemed to be influenced by Babylonian institutions, and that we could trace the Babylonian prototypes, not only for certain Jewish rites, but also for several technical terms of the Levitic ceremonial; I stated that the term *qorbán* 'gift' or 'offering' was a Babylonian loan-word,<sup>2</sup> and that the euphemism 'clean place' for 'dumping ground,'<sup>3</sup> was found in the cuneiform incantations.<sup>4</sup> My explanation of this euphemistic<sup>5</sup> term was adopted by Professor Zimmern<sup>6</sup> of Breslau in the first part of his *Contributions to the Study of Babylonian Religion*,<sup>7</sup> which contained an excellent interpretation of the so-called *šurpu*<sup>8</sup>-series of incantations. The second part of this valuable work, the first half of which was issued a few months ago, contains a number of cuneiform ritual texts for three classes of Babylonian priests: *barāti*, *āšīpe*, and *zammare*, that is, diviners, enchanters, and singers.

\* Note the following abbreviations: *ASKT.* = Paul Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1881); — *AV.* = Authorized Version; — *AW.* = Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1886 ff.); — *HW.* = Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896); — *KAT.*<sup>2</sup> = Eberhard Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, second edition (Giessen, 1883); — *KB.* = E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vols. I.-V. (Berlin, 1889-96); — *R.* = Sir Henry Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (London, 1861-91); — *RV.* = Revised Version; — *SBOT.* = Paul Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, critical edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colors, with Notes (Baltimore, 1893 ff.) and new English Translation, with Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations (New York, 1898 ff.) commonly known as *The Polychrome Bible*; — *ZA.* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Munich, 1886 ff.); — *ZAT.* = *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen, 1881 ff.).

The specialty of the *barûti* was haruspicy, prognostication by inspection of the entrails of victims slain in sacrifice, above all hepatoscopy, divination by inspecting the liver of animals offered on the altar of the gods. This Babylonian practice is alluded to in the twenty-first chapter of the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, containing the wild ode to the avenging sword of the Chaldeans: "A sword, a sword! Sharpened and polished! Sharpened to slay! Polished to flash forth<sup>9</sup> lightning!" *etc.*<sup>10</sup> We read there in v. 36: "The King of Babylon stands at the fork of the road" to practice divination: he shakes the arrows, consults the teraphim,<sup>11</sup> inspects the liver.<sup>12</sup> In the sixth part of the *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets etc. in the British Museum* (London, 1898) we have a photographic reproduction of an ancient Babylonian terra-cotta model of the liver of a sheep,<sup>14</sup> divided into some fifty squares for the purpose of divination.

Occasionally the Babylonian *barûti* resorted to other methods of divination, especially hydromancy, including cylicomancy and lecanomancy,<sup>15</sup> divination by means of cups or bowls: oil<sup>16</sup> was poured in a cup<sup>17</sup> filled with water or *vice versa*;<sup>18</sup> when the oil sank, reached the bottom of the cup, re-ascended, it had a special meaning; also when it remained compact, or divided itself, touched the cup on the right or left, in front or behind *etc.* Cf. in the story of Joseph, Gen. 44<sup>6</sup>: "Why have ye stolen the silver cup?" Lo, it is the one out of which my master drinks, and with which he divines."<sup>19</sup> It is possible that the Babylonian *barûti* were authorized to interpret all omens including auguries, portents, *etc.*<sup>21</sup>

While the specialty of the *barûti* was haruspicy, above all hepatoscopy, the *âšîpe*<sup>22</sup> recited incantations and performed rites of atonement, and the *sammare*<sup>23</sup> sang religious hymns. The ritual tablets for the singers will be published in the second half of the second part of Professor Zimmern's work, which will be issued in the course of this year. These ritual texts will give us a much more accurate conception of Babylonian religion than do the cuneiform hymns and incantations which have been published during the past twenty-five years. A number of these ritual tablets are incidentally referred to in Delitzsch's Assyrian dictionary; but to the majority of Assyriologists the texts, except some fragments published in the second volume of Rawlinson's *corpus inscriptionum*, have

been inaccessible. In his interesting introduction to these ritual texts Professor Zimmern adopts my theory that there may be a historical connection between the Babylonian cult and the Levitic ceremonial as described in the Priestly Code.

The Babylonian *barûti* formed a special guild. No one was admitted who was not of priestly descent, of legitimate birth,<sup>25</sup> clean-limbed, without any defects of the eyes,<sup>26</sup> teeth,<sup>26</sup> or fingers.<sup>27</sup> A member of the guild whose stature and form was not perfect,<sup>28</sup> or who was suffering from a contagious skin disease,<sup>29</sup> was unfit for the priestly functions; he was still counted as one of the brethren of the craft, but was not allowed to officiate as *barû*.<sup>30</sup> The institution of the *barûti* was an old one; they are mentioned more than 2,000 years B. C. under the reign of King Hammurabi, supposed to be identical with Amraphel,<sup>31</sup> King of Shinar, in the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Genesis. Just as the Etruscan haruspices were supposed to have received their knowledge from Tages, so the art of the Babylonian *barûti* was looked upon as a special revelation of Ea,<sup>32</sup> and the origin of their priesthood was traced to the ancient mythical king of Sippar, Enmeduranki, who is evidently identical with the seventh primeval king of Berossus, Evedoranchus of Pantibibla,<sup>33</sup> and also with the Biblical Enoch,<sup>34</sup> seventh in descent from Adam, in the line of Seth.<sup>35</sup>

*Barû*, or more accurately *bârû* (for *bâri'u*) is the participle of *barû* 'to look, inspect,' originally 'to discern.'<sup>36</sup> Professor Zimmern thinks<sup>37</sup> that this Babylonian term may be concealed in the obscure הכרי השמים Is. 47<sup>13</sup> (*K'thîb* הכרי), *AV.* 'the astrologers' (margin, 'viewers of the heavens'; *RV.* margin, 'dividers of the heavens'), *LXX.* *οἱ ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, *Vulg.* *augures cali*.<sup>38</sup> This passage is rather doubtful, but it seems to me certain that we have the name of the Babylonian diviners in Is. 44<sup>20</sup> and in Jer. 50<sup>38</sup> where the Received Text has כבדים 'liars' instead of כרמים 'diviners.'<sup>39</sup> For the Hebrew מפר יהולל אתות בדים וקסמים in Is. 44<sup>20</sup> the *Vulg.* reads *irrita faciens signa divinatorum et ariolos in furorem vertens*;<sup>40</sup> in the same way the *Vulgate* has for חרב אל הכדים ונואלו in Jer. 50<sup>38</sup>, *Gladius ad divinos ejus<sup>41</sup> qui stulti erunt.* A *Shaf'el* form of the root בר is found in Jud. 7<sup>11</sup> ויהי כשמע גרעון את מספר בר החלום ואת שברו וישתחו "when Gideon heard the account

of the dream (and its interpretation) he bowed in adoration," where **וַאֲתָ שִׁנְרֹ** probably represents a later gloss.

Before the Babylonian *barû* rendered a decision concerning the advisability of an act to be undertaken by the enquirer, he seated himself on the *kussî da'anûti*, the seat of judgment.<sup>42</sup> His principal function is *šakānu ša ādāni*, to determine the proper time for an undertaking, and Zimmern<sup>43</sup> thinks it not impossible that the Biblical name for the Tabernacle of the Congregation (so *AV.*), or Tent of Meeting (so *RV.*), or Tent of Revelation,<sup>44</sup> Heb. **אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד**, may originally have denoted the tent where the proper time for an undertaking was determined; both **מוֹעֵד** and Assy. *ādānu* go back to the same root.<sup>45</sup> The technical term for a favorable answer is *annu*, which corresponds to Heb. **עֲנֵה** 'to answer, to respond, to give a favorable reply.'<sup>47</sup> Zimmern's view that this *annu* is connected with the Assyrian demonstrative pronoun *annû* 'this' (*cf.* Heb. **הֵנָּה**) seems to me untenable.

The indication of the divine will from which an oracle is derived is termed *tertu*,<sup>48</sup> and I showed several years ago<sup>49</sup> that this word was identical with Ethiopic *temhért* 'instruction' as well as with Heb. **תּוֹרָה**, while Aram. **אֲרִיתָא** and Ethiopic *ôrît* corresponded to the Assyrian byform of *tertu*, viz. *ûrtu*.

Both *ûrtu* and *tertu* go back to the same stem **מָרַר = אָרַר**.<sup>50</sup> Professor Zimmern adopts my view.<sup>51</sup> He also raises the question whether the Heb. **אֲוִרִים וְתַמִּים** in **אֲוִרִים וְתַמִּים** may not be connected with this Assy. *ûrtu* = *tertu*. I believe, however, with Wellhausen and Schwally,<sup>52</sup> that **אֲוִרִים** must be combined with **אָרַר** 'to curse,' while **תַּמִּים** means 'blamelessness,'<sup>53</sup> acquittal': **אֲוִרִים** represents the unfavorable, condemnatory answer, Assy. *ullu*, and **תַּמִּים** the favorable, acquitting answer, Assy. *annu*.<sup>54</sup> In the Greek Bible we read in 1 Sam. 14<sup>55</sup>, after Jonathan's violation of Saul's taboo:<sup>56</sup> "Saul said: O Yahweh, God of Israel, why hast Thou not responded to Thy servant this day? If the guilt be in me or in my son, Jonathan, O Yahweh, God of Israel, give Urim; but if thus Thou say: It is in my people Israel, give Thummim."<sup>57</sup> Here *Thummim* corresponds to Assy. *annu*, the favorable answer of the deity, and *Urim* to the unfavorable answer, Assy. *ullu*,<sup>58</sup> which may be connected with the Heb. **אָלָה**, 'curse': Assy. *ullulu* means 'bound,'<sup>59</sup> just as Assy. *arûru* means not only

'to curse' but also 'to bind';<sup>68</sup> or as Heb. חֶכֶּר denotes both 'association' and 'enchantment.'

According to the Priestly Code (Exod. 28<sup>30</sup> Lev. 8<sup>6</sup>) the Urim and Thummim were kept in the חֶשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט,<sup>69</sup> 'the breastplate of judgment,' that is, the sacred pouch or bag<sup>70</sup> worn on the breast of the high-priest. The 'sacred pouch of the mystery of heaven and earth' (Assyr. *takálta*<sup>71</sup> *ša pirišti*<sup>72</sup> *šame u eršiti*<sup>73</sup>) plays an important part in the cuneiform ritual texts; it is repeatedly mentioned in connection with 'the tablet of the great gods.'<sup>74</sup>

Following Delitzsch<sup>75</sup> and Jensen, Professor Zimmern believes that the Hebrew term בְּרִית 'covenant' is identical with the Babylonian *birītu*, which is derived from the same stem as *barû* 'diviner'; בְּרִית seems to be a Babylonian loan-word, just as תּוֹרָה,<sup>76</sup> and the original meaning of בְּרִית may have been 'oracle.' When Yahweh made a covenant with Abraham, promising to his descendants the whole land of Palestine from the Stream of Muṣr<sup>77</sup> to the Euphrates, he told him to take a heifer,<sup>78</sup> a she-goat, and a ram, each of them three years old, also a turtle dove and a young pigeon. These were to be divided in two, except the birds,<sup>79</sup> and the half of each placed against the other.<sup>80</sup> A similar ceremony is mentioned in the so-called Cuthean Legend of Creation:<sup>81</sup> "before setting out on his campaign the king enquires of the gods; fourteen male lambs are placed in two rows opposite each other,"<sup>82</sup> evidently for the purpose of inspecting the intestines of the victims, in order to obtain oracles<sup>83</sup> concerning the expedition.

In Lev. 24<sup>5</sup> we read that twelve cakes are to be baked of fine flour and set before Yahweh, in two piles, upon the table of pure gold.<sup>84</sup> In the Old Testament it is nowhere stated<sup>85</sup> that this 'showbread' was unleavened,<sup>86</sup> but we know that according to the later custom these cakes were made without leaven.<sup>87</sup> In the Babylonian ritual one,<sup>88</sup> or three, or six dozens<sup>89</sup> of showbreads were laid before the deity, and it is expressly stated that these cakes are to be unleavened, Assyr. *mutqu*;<sup>90</sup> in fact, *mutqu* is given in the cuneiform vocabularies<sup>91</sup> as the equivalent of *akal pāni* 'showbread' Heb. לֶחֶם פָּנִים.<sup>92</sup>

According to Deut. 18<sup>3</sup> the offerer had to give<sup>93</sup> the sacrificer the shoulder,<sup>94</sup> the jowls, and the rennet<sup>95</sup> stomach, *i. e.*

the fourth or digestive stomach of a ruminant, the abomasum, not the omasum<sup>89</sup> or third division of the stomach. The rennet stomach was a favorite dish at Athens.<sup>90</sup> Stomach and head are still the butcher's fee in Arabia.<sup>91</sup> The shoulder<sup>92</sup> probably refers to the right shoulder<sup>93</sup> (Assyr. *imittu*). This Deuteronomic regulation is at variance with the Priestly Code<sup>94</sup> which prescribes the brisket and the right thigh<sup>95</sup> as the priest's due at a sacrificial meal.

According to the famous stone tablet<sup>96</sup> of the Babylonian King Nabû-pal-iddin (the contemporary of King Assur-nâcîrpal of Assyria, B.C. 884-860) the priests of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar were entitled to the loins,<sup>97</sup> the hide,<sup>98</sup> the rump,<sup>99</sup> the tendons,<sup>100</sup> half<sup>101</sup> of the abdominal viscera<sup>102</sup> as well as of the thoracic viscera,<sup>103</sup> two of the legs,<sup>104</sup> and a pot of broth.<sup>105</sup> In the cuneiform ritual texts published by Professor Zimmern the *imittu* or 'right hand' (ימִינת) is often mentioned.<sup>106</sup> This can hardly mean the right thigh, as Zimmern translates, but must denote the right shoulder.<sup>107</sup> In connection with the *imittu* we often find *xinçâ*, *šume*, occasionally with the addition of *silqu*.<sup>108</sup> These terms have not been explained by Professor Zimmern, nor are they given in Delitzsch's dictionary; but it seems to me that *xinçâ* (dual)<sup>109</sup> corresponds to Heb. חֲלָצִים 'loins,' in Biblical Aramaic חֲרָצָא, and in Syriac ܫܠܐ, while *šume* and *silqu*<sup>110</sup> mean 'roasted meat' and 'boiled meat' respectively, in Arabic لحم مشوي and لحم مسلوق (Heb. בֶּשַׁר מְשֻׁל and בֶּשַׁר מְבֻשָּׁל). Assyrian *šumâ*<sup>111</sup> appears in Syriac as ܫܡܐ 'burnt-offering' or 'sweet smoke.' In Ethiopic we have *šaw'a*<sup>112</sup> 'to sacrifice,' and the word ܫܗ 'sheep,'<sup>113</sup> and even ܫܝ 'present,'<sup>114</sup> may go back to the same root. *Silqu* seems to be connected with the stem ܫܠܩ which means not only 'to cut up,'<sup>115</sup> but also 'to boil,'<sup>116</sup> just as ܬܒܚ means (in Hebrew) 'to slaughter,' and (in Arabic) 'to cook.'

It is stated repeatedly in the cuneiform ritual texts that the sacrificial animal must be without blemish (Assyr. *šalmu*, Arab. سالم).<sup>117</sup> In another passage we are told that the offering of a great man (Assyr. *rubû*) is different from the offering of a humble man (*muškinu*)<sup>118</sup> just as we read in the Book of Leviticus: "If the means of the offerer do not suffice for a

lamb, he may bring two turtle doves or two young pigeons; and if this be too much for him, one tenth ephah of flour."<sup>118</sup>

Before the appearance of the second half of Professor Zimmer's book, which will contain the conclusion of the ritual texts for the Babylonian enchanters, I must refrain from discussing the functions of the *ššipe*. As stated above, their specialty was incantation and expiation. The latter is called *kuppuru* in Assyrian, which is, of course, identical with the technical term for 'atonement' in the Priestly Code, כִּפָּר. The original meaning of this stem seems to be 'to wipe off,' not 'to cover,' as Albrecht Ritschl supposed in his famous dogmatic work on *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Atonement*.<sup>119</sup> Ritschl's knowledge of Semitic was, according to Lagarde's *Mittheilungen*, somewhat inadequate. The mere fact that the government appointed Ritschl official Examiner in Hebrew proves that he did not know much about it.<sup>120</sup>

In one of the ritual tablets for the enchanters or atoners it is stated that a lamb is to be sacrificed at the gate of the palace, and the blood of this lamb is to be put on the lintels, on the figures flanking the entrances, and on the doorposts at the right and left.<sup>121</sup>

It is true a good many of the so-called religious rites practiced by the priests remind us of the familiar story of the old lady who followed a bishop around and was confirmed a number of times because she had found it good for rheumatism.<sup>122</sup> Nevertheless I believe that the elaborate priestly ritual as we find it in the Priestly Code is influenced by Babylonian institutions. The comparative study of the ante-Islamic religion of the Arabs undoubtedly throws much light on certain forms of ancient Israelitish worship; but if we want to trace the origin of the later Jewish ceremonial of the Priestly Code, we must look for it in the cuneiform ritual texts of the Assyro-Babylonians.<sup>123</sup>

## NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xvi. p. ciii.

<sup>2</sup> I stated that more than thirteen years ago in *Hebraica*, vol. iii. p. 109, note 5; contrast Dillmann-Ryssel's commentary on Exodus and Leviticus (Leipzig, 1897), p. 428. Note Mark 7<sup>11</sup>: κορβάν ὃ ἐστὶ δῶρον. The word *qorbân* is not derived from the stem *qarâbu* 'to approach,' but from *karâbu* = כָּרַב 'to bless' (*HW.* 351<sup>b</sup>); cf. בִּרְכָה 2 Kgs. 5<sup>15</sup>. The ק in קרבן is due to the influence of the *u*-vowel in *kurbânû*; cf. below, note 40. For the transposition in *karâbu* = *barâku* compare Ethiopic *mêbra* = *rahîma* (*ZDMG.* xxxiv. 759).

<sup>3</sup> Lev. 4<sup>19</sup> 6<sup>11</sup>; contrast מָקוֹם טָמֵא Lev. 14<sup>41</sup>. 46.

<sup>4</sup> 4 R<sup>2</sup> 8<sup>12</sup>, 14, No. 2, rev. 2.

<sup>5</sup> For euphemisms in Semitic cf. the *Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Grammar*, edited by Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*), vol. iii. p. 577, ll. 26 ff. and the introduction to Dr. Karl J. Grimm's thesis on *Euphemistic Liturgical Appendixes in the Old Testament* (Baltimore, 1900).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 33, n. 4; p. 59, l. 165; Dillmann-Ryssel, *Exod. und Lev.*, p. 464. Delitzsch in his *Assyr. Handwörterbuch (HW.)* refers for *ašru ellu* 'clean place' to his great *Assyr. Wörterbuch (AW.)*; unfortunately the fourth part of this thesaurus, which will contain the article *ellu*, has as yet not been issued.

<sup>7</sup> *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1896), being vol. xii. of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, edited by Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt. Cf. L. W. King's review in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xiii. pp. 142 ff.

<sup>8</sup> That is, 'burning' (שָׂרַף), referring to certain symbolic rites in connection with the incantations. Another series of incantations is called *maglâ* (cf. Jer. 29<sup>22</sup> יִשְׁמַךְ יְהוָה כְּצַדְקֵיהוּ וּכְאַהֲבָה אֲשֶׁר קָלָם מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל 'בִּכְאֵשׁ'; see Knut L. Tallquist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maglâ* (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, Tom. xx. No. 6; 1894) p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Instead of לִמְעַן הִי־לָהּ בָּרַק of the Received Text we must read, with Cornill, לִמְעַן הָהֵל בָּרַק; the Peshita renders ותברק; the Vulgate, *ut splendeat, limatus est*; Cornill's emendation has been adopted by Orelli, Bertholet, and Toy.

<sup>10</sup> See Professor Toy's new English translation of Ezekiel in *SBOT*. (New York, 1899), pp. 34 and 137, and his critical notes on the Hebrew text (Baltimore, 1899), p. 73, ll. 39 ff.

<sup>11</sup> The following בְּרָאשׁ שְׁנֵי הָרָרִכִּים 'at the head of the two roads' in the Received Text is a gloss on the preceding אֵם הָרָרִךְ (Arab. مفرقة *māfrique*; in Rabbinical Hebrew the part of the lung from which the lobes of the lung (אוֹנִי רִיאָה) branch off is called אֵם 'mother'). Cf. the Latin epithet of Hecate: *Trivia*, Greek τριπύδης.

<sup>12</sup> For תרפים, probably 'ancestral image,' see H. P. Smith on 1 Sam. 19<sup>13</sup>. In the glossary appended to Kautzsch's *Textbibel* (Freiburg i. B. 1899) *Teraphim* is supposed to denote in that passage an image of Yahweh. The plural seems to be amplificative; cf. the references in Toy's critical notes on Ezekiel, p. 87, l. 4.

<sup>13</sup> כִּי עֹמֵר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל עַל אִם הָרֹדֶךְ לְקֶסֶם קֶסֶם קָלָל בַּחַיִּים

שאל בתרפים ראה בכבר.—Hugo Grotius remarks in his *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum*, on Ezek. 21<sup>21</sup> (Heb. <sup>96</sup>): *Nec dubitandum puto quin artes illae a Chaldeis ad Lydos, a Lydis ad Hetruscos venerint*. Diod. Sic. ii, 29 says of the Chaldeans:—ἀντίχονται δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ μαντικῆς, ποιοῦμενοι προρρήσεις περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν καθαρμοῖς, τῶν δὲ θυσίαις, τῶν δ' ἄλλαις τισὶν ἐπιθδαῖς ἀποτροπᾶς κακῶν καὶ τελειώσεις ἀγαθῶν πειρώνται πορίζειν. ἐμπειρίαν δ' ἔχουσι καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν οἰωνῶν μαντικῆς, ἐνυπνίων τε καὶ τεράτων ἐξηγήσεις ἀποφαίνονται. οὐκ ἀσέβως δὲ ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆν ἰεροσκοπίαν ὁκρως ἐπιτυγχάνειν νομίζοντες. Diodorus speaks only of *leroskopia* in general, and does not refer especially to *ἡπατοσκοπία*, just as the Vulgate has *exta consulit* for the Hebrew ראה בכבר, while the LXX. renders ἡπατοσκοπήσασθαι.

<sup>14</sup> Not a human liver, as stated in Dr. Budge's prefatory note prefixed to the volume; cf. Dr. A. Boissier's interesting *Note sur un monument babylonien se rapportant à l'Extispicine* (Geneva, 1899), p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> ἰδρομαντεία, κυλικομαντεία, λεκανομαντεία (or λεκανοσκοπία). Franz Delitzsch in his commentary on Genesis, fourth edition, p. 479, writes λευκανομαντεία, and this mistake is reproduced in his *Neuer Commentar über die Genesis* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 483, as well as in Strack's commentary (München, 1894), p. 136. For *hydromantia*, cf. Pliny xxxvii, 192: *Anancitide in hydromantia dicunt evocari imagines deorum, synochitide teneri umbras inferorum evocatas, etc.* Strabo, § 762 says: παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις οἱ μάγοι καὶ νεκρομάντεις καὶ ἐτι οἱ λεγόμενοι λεκανομάντεις καὶ ἰδρομάντεις, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οἱ Τυρρηνικοὶ οἰωνοσκόποι. τοιοῦτος δὲ τις ἦν καὶ ὁ Μωσῆς καὶ οἱ διαδεξάμεναι ἐκείνον, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς λαβόντες οὐ φαῖλας ἐκτραπόμενοι δ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.

<sup>16</sup> Assyr. *šamnu*.

<sup>17</sup> Assyr. *šānu*, Aram. כֶּסֶם, Heb. כּוֹס.

<sup>18</sup> Assyr. *me ana šamni innadā*.

<sup>19</sup> לְמַה גִּנְתֶּם אֶת גִּבְעֵי הַכֶּסֶף: so we must supply, with Kautzsch's *Textbibel* (Freiburg i. B., 1899) following LXX., ἵνα τί ἐκλέψατέ μου τὸ κόνειον τὸ ἀργυρεόν. The words might be omitted if they were spoken after the cup had been found in Benjamin's bag; but in their present connection they are indispensable; contrast Ball *ad loc.*

<sup>20</sup> Heb. הָלוּא זֶה אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתָּה אֲדָנִי בּוֹ וְהוּא נָחַשׁ יִנְחֹשׁ בּוֹ.

<sup>21</sup> The Assyrian name for astrologer is *kaldā*, and the interpreter of dreams is called *šā'ilu*. According to Professor Jastrow at the Oriental Congress held at Rome in Oct., 1899, הִשְׁאֵלְתִּיהוּ in 1 Sam. i<sup>96</sup>, is a denominative verb derived from this noun *šā'ilu*; הִשְׁאֵלְתִּיהוּ לַיהוָה means, accord-

ing to Professor Jastrow, 'I have dedicated him as a priest to Yahweh,' See *Bulletins of the Congress*, No. 9, p. 15, and the present number of this JOURNAL, p. 82 sq.

<sup>22</sup> The stem of *ššipu* is *שִׁפּוּ* (so Prætorius in *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*, 1884, p. 197), cf. *šiptu* (constr. *šipat*) 'incantation'; initial *š* appears in Assyrian as *š*; see my *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 48, n. 3; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammar*, §41; *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, p. 247. Heb. *אֲשָׁפִים* (Dan. 1<sup>20</sup> 2<sup>2</sup>) and Aramaic *אֲשָׁפִין* (Syr. *aššāfā* or *āššāfā*) are Babylonian loan-words.

<sup>23</sup> Heb. *מִשְׁרָרוֹת*, fem. *מִשְׁרָרִים*.

<sup>24</sup> Assy. *ša zerušu ellu*, not 'noble' as Zimmern (*op. cit.*, p. 87, n. 6; p. 119, l. 30) translates. Cf. Lev. 21<sup>14</sup> and Canon Driver's new English translation of Leviticus in *SBOT.*, p. 91.

<sup>25</sup> Assy. *zaqtu enā*, literally, 'starräugig,' that is, 'staaräugig, affected with cataract;' cf. English 'to stare, star-blind,' etc. (Heb. *קָמוּ עֵינָיו* 1 Kgs. 14<sup>4</sup>; *וְעֵינָיו קָמָה* 1 Sam. 4<sup>15</sup>; see also Professor Macdonald's note in vol. xiv. of this JOURNAL, 1895, p. 57). The Vulgate renders the Heb. *תִּבְלֵל בְּעֵינָיו*, Lev. 21<sup>20</sup>: *albuginem habens in oculo*; the Peshita has

*ܫܕܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ*; cf. Tob. 2<sup>10</sup>. LXX. renders in Lev. 21<sup>20</sup> *πιλλλος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*, which means, according to Hesychrius, *μαδαρὸς καὶ λελετισμένος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*. *Albugo* denotes not only 'white spot' but also 'white scales'; Pliny speaks of *albugines capitis*. In Arabic, 'cataract' is called *بياضة في العين* 'whiteness in the eye.' For *תִּבְלֵל* cf. Wetzstein's remark in Delitzsch's commentary on Isaiah, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., p. 336, n. 2. The rendering 'blear-eyed' (see vol. xvii. of this JOURNAL, p. 160 below) is very uncertain. Zimmern translates *zaqtu enā*: 'cross-eyed,' but this is undoubtedly wrong.

<sup>26</sup> Assy. *xepā šinnā*; cf. Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 97, n. 5; p. 119, l. 31.

<sup>27</sup> Assy. *ša ubānšu nagpat*; Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 97, l. 5; p. 119, l. 31.

<sup>28</sup> Assy. *ša ina qāmti u ina mindtišu lā šuklulu* (Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 119, l. 28). We must, of course, read, with Jensen, *qāmtu* (Heb. *קִימָה* 1 Sam.

16<sup>1</sup>, Arab. *قائمة qāme* or *قومة qaume*, Syr. *ܩܡܬܐ*) instead of *gattu* (Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 207<sup>b</sup>); *qāmtu* corresponds to *קִימָה*, while *mindti* is the equivalent of Heb. *מִינִי*. *Mindti* is the plural of Heb. *מִין*

'species' (cf. *תְּמוּנָה*); it has no connection with *mtnu* (= *minyu*) 'number,' Aram. *ܡܢܝܢ*; cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xiii. p.

ccxliii. n. 14; *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, Feb. 1889, vol. viii. No. 69, p. 17<sup>b</sup>; *Beitr. zur Assy.* i, 124; contrast Delitzsch, *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 143; *Handwörterbuch*, p. 417<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Not 'leprosy,' as Zimmern translates. It might be well to state in this connection that 'leprosy' in the Bible is a generic name for a variety of

skin diseases including *psoriasis*, *scabies*, and *lues venerea*, also *leucoderma* or *albinism* (Lev. 13<sup>18</sup>), etc. There is no evidence that the various features of cutaneous affections described in the thirteenth chapter of Leviticus refer to true leprosy (*Leprosy Arabum* or *Elephantiasis Græcorum*); cf. Mr. Clifton H. Levy's abstract of my lecture on "Medical and Hygienic Features of the Bible," in *The Independent*, New York, July 13, 1899, p. 1907<sup>a</sup>; and the synopsis of my paper on "The Sanitary Basis of the Mosaic Ritual" in the *Bulletins of the Twelfth Oriental Congress* (Rome, 1899), No. 13, p. 7; also critical notes on Numbers 6<sup>18</sup> in *SBOT*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 119 below, note *i* and Lev. 21<sup>22</sup>, 6<sup>18 29</sup>; Num. 18<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> See Cheyne-Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s. v. "Amraphel."

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), p. 62.

<sup>23</sup> Εὐδωραχὸς ἐκ Παντιβιβλων; cf. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 149. Sumerian *En-me-dur-an-ki* was pronounced *Enveduranki*. For the assimilation of the *n* to the following *m*, see Haupt, *Die akkad. Sprache* (Berlin, 1883), p. 8; and for the change of *m* and *v*, *ibid.*, p. 6; cf. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii (1887), pp. 263, 265 ff. and Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 116, note *a*; p. 119, l. 23; see also Bloomfield's paper on the correlation of *v* and *m* in Vedic and later Sanskrit in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xiii, p. xcvi.

<sup>24</sup> Gen. 5<sup>18-24</sup>. Cf. Haupt, *Der keilinschriftliche Sintfluthbericht* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 28, n. 28; Alfred Jeremias, *Isdubar-Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891), p. 37.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Jude 14: ἑβδόμος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνὼχ, καὶ ἐτά σάβε emna Adām, Enoch 60<sup>6</sup>; *ibid.* 93<sup>a</sup>, dna sabb<sup>r</sup> taṣaladkā bagadāmīt sanbat. Cf. R. H. Charles's articles on the Ethiopic Book of Enoch and the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, and G. Beer's new translation of the book in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (Freiburg i. B., 1899).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Heb. בין 'between' and בינה, תבונה 'discrimination, discernment, insight.' Assy. ina berišunn means 'between them, among them, in the midst of them;' see *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 160, n.

<sup>27</sup> The Assyrian stem ברא or כרי 'to discern,' must be connected with the Hebrew stem כרר, *c. g.* Ezek. 20<sup>38</sup> וְכָרוּתִי מִכֶּם הַמֵּרְדִּים

והפושעים, Targ. ואפריש 'I will separate, sever,' but LXX. ἐλέγξω, Vulg. eligam, Pesh. סִלְחָ (cf. the passive participle בְּרוּרִים 'selected,' 1 Chr. 7<sup>40</sup> 9<sup>29</sup> 16<sup>41</sup>; fem. בְּרוּרָה 'select, choice,' Neh. 5<sup>18</sup>). It is there-

fore not necessary to read in 1 Sam. 17<sup>8</sup>, with Weir-Driver; Kittel-Kautzsch, Budde, Löhr, H. P. Smith (cf. Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 90, n. 6), בָּחַר (so Targ.) instead of the received כָּרָה (so Thenius, Wellhausen,

Siegfried-Stade, Grätz), following LXX. ἐλέξασθε, Vulg. eligite, Pesh. סִלְחָ, and the parallel passages 1 Kgs. 18<sup>26</sup> Josh. 24<sup>13</sup> 2 Sam. 24<sup>19</sup>. For the infinitive לְכָרֵם in Eccl. 3<sup>18</sup> (Ges.-Kautzsch, § 67, p) LXX. has

ὅτι διακρινεῖ αὐτοὺς (ὁ θεός), Vulgate *ut probaret eos (Deus)*, Pesh. **עֲלֵם אֶם** (cf. Euringer *ad loc.*). In Ethiopic **ברר** means 'to penetrate.'

It is not impossible that **בחר** is a secondary development of the root **בר**, just as **ירחק** in Deut. 32<sup>11</sup> and **מרחפת** in Gen. 1<sup>2</sup> must be con-

nected with Arabic **رَفَّ رَفْرَفًا**, *raffa, rafrafa* (= **بَسَطَ جَنَاحَيْهِ**) 'to expand and flap the wings;' see my remarks in *Hebraica*, i. 178, n. 4; *Beitr. z. Assyriol.* i. 166; iii. 580, l. 35. In the same way **בחן** (cf. Arabic **بَحَنَ** =

**بَوَّرَ**) may be a secondary development of **בן**, **בין**. Cf. also Arab. **لَبَّوْرَ** 'to test, to examine' (**بَارَ فَلَانًا إِذَا اخْتَبَرَهُ**) and the infinitive **لَبَّوْرَ**

'to test, prove' in Eccl. 9<sup>1</sup>, Targ. **לְבַלּוֹשׁ**, Vulg. *ut curiose intelligerem*; it is by no means necessary to read (with LXX. καὶ καρδία μου σόφισαν ἰδοὺ τοῦτο and Pesh. **לִבִּי נִדַּע עַל הַלֵּל**) (**מַלְכֵּךְ מִן הַלֵּל**) (cf. Euringer *ad loc.*).

Another secondary stem derived from the same root **בר** is the *Piel* **בָּאָר** 'to make plain,' in Deut. 1<sup>8</sup> (**בָּאָר אֶת הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת**)

*AV.* 'began to declare this law,' i. e. 'to make clear, expound'; 27<sup>2</sup> (**וּכְתַבְתָּ עַל הָאֲבָנִים אֶת כָּל דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת בָּאָר הַיָּשָׁב**);

Hab. 2<sup>3</sup> **כָּתַב חֲזוֹן וּבָאָר עַל הַלּוּחֹת לְמַעַן יִרְוֶן קוֹרֵא בּוֹ** 'write, the vision plainly on tablets so that it may be read fluently'). Barth's combination of Heb. **בָּאָר** with Arab. **عَبَّرَ** is, of course, impossible.

**عَبَّرَ** means originally, like Heb. **הֶעֱבִיר**, 'to transfer,' then 'to translate, interpret, explain' (cf. German *übertragen, übersetzen*). The use of the preposition **عَنْ** in connection with **عَبَّرَ** makes this perfectly plain

**عَبَّرَ عَنْهُ غَيْرُهُ إِذَا أَعْرَبَ عَنْهُ عَبَّرَ عَمَّا فِي نَفْسِهِ إِذَا أَعْرَبَ أَيْ** (**أَعْرَبَ الشَّيْءَ إِذَا أَبَانَهُ**) 'to make plain' (**أَعْرَبَ**). The synonym **أَعْرَبَ** (בֵּינָם)

may be a transposition of **أَعْبَرُ**, influenced by **أَعْرَبَ** 'to speak plain Arabic' (**أَعْرَبَ كَلَامَهُ أَفْصَحَ وَلَمْ يَلْخِنْ فِيهِ**)

cf. the German phrase *mit Jemand Deutsch reden* or 'to talk plain English' etc.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 85, n. 8.

<sup>22</sup> For the Heb. **וַיְשַׁעֲךָ הַבְּרִי שָׁמַיִם הַחֲזִים בְּכּוֹכְבֵּי** the Peshita reads **לְהַעֲלֵמְךָ מִלְּפָנֵי שְׁמַיָּה וּשְׁמַיָּה שְׁמַעְתָּ** 'Let the Chaldeans who gaze at the heaven and the stars save thee,' Targ. **דְּהוּוּ מִסְכֵּן** 'who observe (סָכַן) the heavenly

zodiac and gaze at the stars.<sup>1</sup> Hitzig, in his commentary on Isaiah (Heidelberg, 1833), suggested **חברי שמים** *die Himmelskundigen*, who have a knowledge of the heavens (in Kautzsch's *Textbibel: die des Himmels kundig sind*) from **חבר** = Arab. **خبير** (*cf.* Arab. **بالفلك** 'astronomer'). In his commentary on Daniel (Leipzig, 1850), p. 29 below, Hitzig proposed to read **הַכָּרִי**, perf. *Hif.* of **כָּרַר**, *cf.* **לָכַרְם** Eccl. 3<sup>18</sup> and above, note 36; see also Hitzig's *Psalmen*, vol. ii. (Leipzig, 1865), p. 415 (*ad* Ps. 139<sup>3</sup>). The omission of the relative pronoun before **הַכָּרִי** would, however, be rather harsh, and it would be better to read **הַכָּרִי** as perfect *Qal* of **כָּרַר** or **כָּרָה**, with the prefixed article as relative pronoun as in Josh. 10<sup>24</sup> (E<sup>2</sup>) **אנשי המלחמה ההלכו אתו**; *cf.* Ges.-Kautzsch, § 138, p; König, *Syntax*, § 52; Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Leyden, 1898), § 192; Wright-de Goeje<sup>3</sup> vol. i. p. 269, D (**شاكر على المعة**, 'grateful for what he has,' lit. 'for the with him,' instead of **شاكر على الذي معه**). This is preferable to transposing **מֵאֲשֶׁר** and reading **יַעֲמְדוּ-נָא וַיְשִׁיעֵךְ מֵאֲשֶׁר הַכָּרִי שָׁמַיִם הַחֲזִים בְּכֹכְבֵּים מְדַלֵּת הָאָרֶץ מֵאֲשֶׁר** (*cf.* Jer. 40<sup>1</sup>: **מוֹעֲדִים לְחָדָשִׁים יִבְאוּ עֲלֶיךָ**; **לֹא הָגִלּוּ בְּבִלָּה**). For the use of the Hebrew article as a relative see also D. B. Macdonald's note in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xiii. p. 213.

It is, of course, impossible to take (with Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, § 126<sup>3</sup>) **הַכָּרִי** as a construct state in *4*; nor is there a plural in *4* in Assyrian (against my *Sumer. Familiengesetze*, p. 23, n. 5 and Delitzsch's *Assyr. Grammar*, § 67, 5); Assyrian *parṣu rešādtu* must be explained as a compound like **שִׁירֵי הַמַּעֲלָה** for **שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלָה** (*Hebraica*, ii. 98, n. 2; xi. 19, 27) or **בֵּית אֲבוֹת** (Ges.-Kautzsch, § 124, n). The pointing **הַכָּרִי** is not so radical an emendation as the substitution of **נָזָרִי** (*cf.* Aram. **נְזַרִין** Dan. 2<sup>27</sup> 4<sup>4</sup> 5<sup>11</sup> and the Heb. verb **נָזַר** 'to cut up, divide,' 1 Kgs. 3<sup>25</sup> 16; Ps. 136<sup>13</sup>) or **תֹּכֵן** (*cf.* **תֹּכֵן רִחוֹת** Prov. 16<sup>2</sup>; **תֹּכֵן לְבוֹת** Prov. 21<sup>3</sup> 24<sup>12</sup>, parallel to **נָזַר נַפְשֶׁךְ**, Vulg. *inspector cordis = servator animæ*, Targ. **בִּאֲקִי**, Pesh. **عَيَا**), although **תֹּכֵן** is used in modern Hebrew for 'astronomer,' **הַכָּרִי שָׁמַיִם** evidently refers to the 'astronomers' Arabic **الحُزَمَاءُ** and **عارف بعلم الفلك والنجوم** or **خبير بالفلك** to the 'astrologers' (Arab. **منجم**, Syr. **ܡܢܟܡܐ**). For the Babylonian calculations of the new moon, etc., *cf.* *Die babylonische*

*Mondrechnung* by F. X. Kugler, S. J. (Freiberg i. B., 1900). A combination of **הברו** with Arab. **قطعة قطعا** 'to cut into large pieces' (**קטע קטע**) is impossible (against Gesenius, *Jesaja*, vol. ii. p. 554; Delitzsch, *Jesaja*<sup>4</sup>, p. 475); nor can **הברו** or **חברו** be combined with Arab. **خبر** 'to know.' It will therefore be best to read **הברו שמים** 'who observe the heaven.'

<sup>39</sup> For the frequent confusion of **ך** and **כ** see notes on the English translation of Joshua in *SBOT*. (New York, 1899), p. 63, l. 27. In the same way we should, perhaps, read **ברין** instead of the Targumic **בירין**, **בירין**. The corruption may have been intentional, to assimilate the word to **בדאיה** 'liar.'

<sup>40</sup> The Targ. renders **מכטל אותות בירין**, Pesh. **ܡܚܬܠܐ ܐܘܬܘܬܐܝܝܪܝܢ**, i. e., 'enchanters, necromancers'; cf. Roediger's *Chrestom. Syr.*<sup>3</sup> s. v. **ܡܚܬܠܐ**; Lagarde, *Nominalbildung*, p. 111, l. 17 (*Register und Nachträge*, p. 65); Schwally in Stade's *ZAT*, xi. 179. The cuneiform prototype of the Babylonian word *maḫṣūlā* has as yet not been discovered, but **ܡܚܬܠܐ** (cf. Targ. **זכורותא**, **זכורותא**; **דכורותא**, **דכירתא** 'necromancy'; see Dalman's *Wörterbuch*) is evidently derived from Assy. *niš ili zakāru* 'to pronounce the name of a god, to swear'; cf. Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 55 (*Surpu*, iii. 14). Delitzsch's Assyrian dictionary gives this verb under **סקר**; *isqur*, however, is nothing but phonetic spelling for *izkur*: the *s* is due to partial assimilation of the *z* to the following *k*, and the *q* instead of *k* to the following *u*-vowel; cf. my *ASA*<sup>7</sup>, 50, 19, 22, 25, 28, see also *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, i. 76, n. 2 and above, note 2. For *nišu* (= Heb. **נִסָּה**, Syr. **ܢܝܫܐ** and **ܢܝܫܐ**) see my remarks in the critical notes on Ezekiel, p. 82, l. 24, and for the partial assimilation *ibid.*, p. 67, l. 13; Isaiah, p. 152, l. 39. Cf. below, notes 60 and 120. Delitzsch's Assyrian dictionary gives *nišu* (i. e. the form *gilt* of **נִשָּׂא**) on p. 452<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> The Peshita reads **ܡܚܬܠܐ ܐܘܬܘܬܐܝܝܪܝܢ** (Targ. **על קסמהא**). In the LXX. we must insert, with Theodotion, at the beginning of v. <sup>36</sup>: *μάχησαν ἐπὶ τῇ μαντείᾳ* (or *τοῖς μάντεϊς*) *αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξαποθήσονται* (or *ἐξαποθήσονται*). This clause was omitted in LXX. owing to the similarity of *τοῖς μάντεϊς* and *τοῖς μαχηταῖς*. It was probably added in the margin and crept in afterwards, in its corrupt form *μάχησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς μαχηταῖς αὐτῶν*, into the text at the beginning of v. <sup>37</sup>. This doublet in v. <sup>37</sup> is not "an accidental repetition from the similar words of v. <sup>36</sup>" (so Streane, *The Double Text of Jeremiah*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 292) but the misplaced corrupt remnant of the original clause at the beginning of v. <sup>36</sup>. For **ברים** (read **בירים**) = *μαντεῖα* cf. Is. 16<sup>6</sup> where





חן (Jensen). In the so-called Synchronous History *annama* may mean 'in accordance with the manifestation of the divine will'; contrast Schrader's *KB* i. p. 195, where *annama* is rendered *dieser* in l. 3, and in l. 7 *auf beiden Seiten!* Heb. עונן may be connected with this Assy. *annu*; it can hardly be derived from ענן 'cloud.'

The phrase ענה ב generally translated 'to testify against' meant perhaps originally, 'to augur, to omen, to portend'; for ב 'against' cf. the use of this preposition in connection with חרה אף, מרה, ריב, נלחם (Jud. 9<sup>45</sup> 6<sup>81</sup> Ps. 5<sup>11</sup> Gen. 30<sup>9</sup>).

In Eccl. 5<sup>18</sup> מענה is causative of חבא *ḥabā*; see Bernstein's *Syr. Chrest. Kirsch*. (Leipzig, 1836), p. 381<sup>a</sup> below; *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, ed. Budge, 241, 17. We must read, with the Vulgate *eo quod Deus occupet deliciis cor ejus*, לבו כי האלהים מענה בשמחה לבו, being accusative depending on מענה, not genitive depending on מענה בשמחה לבו; ענה בשמחה is one idea; therefore לבו מענה בשמחה לבו בשמחה; cf. modern Arabic استعناء 'to give one's entire attention to a thing.'

<sup>48</sup> Cf. תרתן, the title of the Assyrian general-in-chief, 2 Kgs. 18<sup>17</sup> Is. 20<sup>1</sup>, Assy. *tārtānu* or *tārtānu* (*HW.*, 716<sup>a</sup>); both *tertu* (*HW.*, 51<sup>a</sup>) and *\*tārtu* are modifications of the original form *\*tārtu*. For the connection of תרתן and תורה, we must remember that Ethiopic *mamēhher* means 'teacher,' while the corresponding Assy. *mumā'iru* (*HW.*, 389<sup>b</sup>) means 'ruler, commander'; cf. Heb. שטרים Deut. 20<sup>6, 8, 9</sup> Josh. 1<sup>10</sup> 3<sup>2</sup>; סופר Jer. 52<sup>25</sup> 2 Kgs. 25<sup>19</sup> (הסופר seems to be a gloss to שר הצבא). Assy. *šāpīru* means both 'scribe' and 'ruler' (*HW.*, 683<sup>b</sup>). Heb. ספר etc. is an Assyrian loan-word; see notes on the English translation of Joshua in *SBOT.*, p. 86, l. 27. The original meaning of ספר is 'message,' Assy. *šipru*.

As to the etymology of *mumā'ir*, the Assyrian stem *ma'aru* 'to send,' cannot be separated from *māru* 'child' and *māru* 'the young of an animal'; cf. Arab. *muhr* 'foal,' also עייל 'infant' (Is. 49<sup>15</sup> 65<sup>20</sup>) and post-Biblical עילא 'foal'; Assy. *bāru* 'child' and 'young of an animal' (*HW.*, 169<sup>a</sup>; *pir'u* 'offspring' 538<sup>a</sup>) and פר 'bullock.' The primitive meaning of the stem מהר is 'to be quick' (cf. Heb. מהרה); Assy. *mā'uru* 'to send' means originally 'to dispatch, to expedite'; *māru* 'the young of an animal,' and *māru* 'child,' mean originally 'quick, lively,' just as we call a lively, spirited young girl a 'filly,' or speak of 'casting one's colt's tooth,' cf. Arab. عجل 'ijl (Heb. עגל) 'calf' and 'djil 'quick,'

and the German denominative verb *kälbern*; מהיר 'skilled' (cf. Prov. 22<sup>29</sup> סופר מהיר בתורת משה; Ezr. 7<sup>6</sup> סופר מהיר במלאכתו; Ps. 45<sup>1</sup> לישוני עט סופר מהיר; Arab. مهار 'skill') means originally 'quick, nimble, expedite' (cf. our 'quick at figures' and the colloquial German *fix*). Ethiopic *makhdra* (Syr. مَحْدَر) 'to train, to teach,' means originally 'to make מהיר' (Arab. ماهر). Cf. below, note 73.

<sup>49</sup> See Kittel's critical notes on Chronicles (Leipzig, 1895), p. 80, l. 49.

<sup>50</sup> For  $\aleph = \eta$  see my remarks prefixed to Glossary I in Schrader's *KAT.* p. 492; for  $\aleph = \beth$  cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 98 below; vol. iii. p. 580, l. 33; *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xvi. p. cvi. below; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 270 ff.; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammar*, § 49, a; note also Assyr. *latānu* = *la'utānu*, *lamutānu* (*HW.*, p. 386<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>51</sup> See *op. cit.*, p. 91, n. 2.

<sup>52</sup> See Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*, third edition (Berlin, 1886), p. 412, below; the remark is omitted in the fourth edition (1895); cf. *Reste arabischen Heidenthums* (Berlin, 1887), pp. 145 and 167 below; Schwally in Stade's *ZAT.*, xi. 172 (1891).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Arab. صَحَائِم (Lagarde, *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs*, vol. i. (Leipzig, 1867) p. 93, l. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Kautzsch remarks in the glossary appended to his *Textbibel* (Freiburg i. B., 1899), s. v. *Urim*: *Urim und Tummlm* (d. h. wahrscheinlich "Licht und Unschuld"), die heiligen Lose, durch welche die Priester den Willen Gottes erkundeten. Wie es nach 1 Sam. 14, 41 scheint, brachte das Los urim die Schuld dessen ans Licht, wegen dessen Gott befragt wurde, dagegen das Los tummlm die Unschuld.

<sup>55</sup> Saul had tabooed all eating before sunset. The people fasted, but Jonathan, who was ignorant of his father's adjuration, ate some honey. Yahweh was offended by this transgression, and when Saul enquires whether or not he shall renew his attack on the Philistines, Yahweh does not respond (i. e. gives no favorable answer). Saul proceeds to discover the offender. The sacred lot is cast, first between the royal house and the people; after it has been ascertained that the royal family, represented by Saul and Jonathan, is the guilty party, the lot is cast between the king and his son. Jonathan is found to be the offender, and is condemned to death, but rescued by the people.

<sup>56</sup> See Kautzsch's article on 'Urim' in Herzog-Plitt-Hauck's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. xvi. (Leipzig, 1885), p. 228; Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, vol. iii. (Göttingen, 1889), p. 352; Löhr's new edition of Thenius' commentary (Leipzig, 1898), p. 64; H. P. Smith's *Commentary on Samuel* (New York, 1899), p. 122. The Lucianic recension of LXX. (ed. Lagarde) reads: καὶ εἶπε Σαούλ, κίριε ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; εἰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωνάθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἢ ἡ ἀδικία, κίριε ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, ὅς ἐστι δόλος. καὶ εἰ τὰδε εἶποισ, Ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἢ ἀδικία, ὅς ἐστι δόλος. The Vulgate reads: *Quid est quod*

*non responderis servo tuo hodie? Si in me, aut in Jonatha filio meo, est iniquitas hac, da ostensionem; aut si hac iniquitas est in populo tuo, da sanctitatem.* Targ. and Pesh. agree with the received Hebrew text.

<sup>57</sup> See *HW.*, pp. 71<sup>b</sup>, 113<sup>a</sup>; Zimmern, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, n. 5.

<sup>58</sup> *HW.*, p. 70<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> *HW.*, 138<sup>a</sup>; cf. Delitzsch's *Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research* (London, 1883), p. 53.

<sup>60</sup> Heb. חֶשֶׁן may be connected with the Assyrian stem *xašānu* 'to enclose'

(*HW.*, 288<sup>a</sup>); cf. Eth. *haddna* (Arab. حاضنة, حضان), Heb. חֶזֶן.

'bosom of a dress' (cf. Arab. جيب 'bosom of a dress, pocket, purse');

an *s* is not unfrequently changed into *ç* under the influence of an adjacent

ח; cf. פָּסַח = פָּסַח, Assy. *pušṣuḫ* 'appeasement of the wrath of the deity' (Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 92, n. 9); קָשַׁר = קָשַׁר; 'to bind' =

Assyr. *qašāru* (*HW.* 590<sup>b</sup>); Ethiopic *qašdra*; see *Beitr. z. Assyrl.*, vol. i. p. 19, n. 27 and the remarks under *Q* in Gesenius-Buhl<sup>13</sup>, p. 555<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> חֶשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט may have been a sort of sacred dice-box from which the sacred dice were thrown. LXX. renders Ex. 28<sup>20</sup> τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως; cf. Sir. 45<sup>10</sup> and Ryssel's new translation of Ecclesiasticus in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 453, note *i*. According to Hesychius λόγιον or rather λογίον was a kind of small bowl (εἶδος κρατηρίσκου); cf. German *Würfelbecher*, 'dice-cup'; Etymol. Magnum, λογίον, σημαίνει εἶδος κρατήρος; Suidas (ed. Bernhardt), λογίον. τὸ μαντείον, ὑπερ ἑφόρει ὁ ιερεὺς, ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν ἐγκεκολλημένοι οἱ ἑβ' λίθοι, καὶ λογίον, τὸ δικαστήριον). It is not necessary to suppose that the Urim and Thummim were regular dice marked with spots from one to six; the sacred lot may have consisted of stones of different colors, small cubes or balls, perhaps one black and one white, so that אֲוִרִים would practically correspond to our 'black ball.' The method of procedure may have been as follows. When Saul wanted to find out who had violated the taboo (cf. note 55) the sacred lot was cast first between the royal family and the people. The 'black ball' came out first; this showed that the royal family was guilty and not any of the people. Had Thummim come out first, it would have been necessary to try the people tribe by tribe; the first tribe that was 'blackballed' would have been tried clan by clan, and the first clan that was 'blackballed' would have been tried man by man, and the first individual that was 'blackballed' would have been considered to be the transgressor (cf. 1 Sam. 10<sup>20-21</sup>). As the royal family, which was represented only by Saul and Jonathan, was found to be the guilty party, it was sufficient to cast the lot but once more; if Urim had come out first Saul would have been the offender; the fact that Thummim fell out of the חֶשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט showed that Saul was innocent, and Jonathan guilty of the violation of the taboo. It is hardly necessary to add that this explanation is to a great extent entirely conjectural.

<sup>62</sup> It is clear that Assyr. *takāltu* denotes some sort of receptacle, but it is not certain that it is a 'pouch' or 'bag,' it may just as well be a 'case' or 'box.' The stem is כּוּל 'to hold;' cf. *HW.*, p. 320<sup>b</sup>, and Heb. הכּוּל (כל Is. 40<sup>12</sup> is corrupt); כּלִי.

<sup>63</sup> Zimmern (*op. cit.*, p. 89, n. 5) thinks that Syriac פּרִי־שַׁא 'miracle' may be a Babylonian loan-word derived from *pirištu*.

<sup>64</sup> See Zimmern, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 118: No. 24, ll. 8, 14, 16.

<sup>65</sup> See Delitzsch, *The Hebrew Language* (London, 1883) p. 49.

<sup>66</sup> תּוֹרָה, however, was borrowed at a much later period than בְּרִית.

<sup>67</sup> For the 'Stream of Muṣr' see notes on the English translation of Joshua in *SBOT*. (New York, 1899) p. 81, l. 44.

<sup>68</sup> English heifer, German *Farre*, fem. *Färse*, may be a Semitic loan-word; see my remarks in *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, vol. i. p. 114, below.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Levit. 1<sup>12</sup> 17.

<sup>70</sup> The greater portion of Gen. 15 is late, perhaps as late as the preceding chapter, Gen. 14. Possibly the first five verses only are pre-exilic.

<sup>71</sup> Col. ii. ll. 5 ff., cf. col. iii. ll. 17 ff. See Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 83; *ZA.*, xii. (1897) pp. 320, 324, 327 (issued May 1898). The English translations published in Geo. Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, ed. Sayce (London, 1880), p. 94, and in the *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. i. (London, 1888), p. 150, are not reliable.

<sup>72</sup> Assyr. *sibitti ana pān sibitti buxāde ilputā*.

<sup>73</sup> *Umd'ir barūtī* does not mean 'I commanded the diviners,' but 'I caused them to give a תּוֹרָה'; cf. above, note 48, and Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 99, n. μ; the *Piel* is denominative in these cases. It is possible that Arabic مَهْرَة in the phrase لم تعط هذا الامر المهرة *lam tu'ti hādā el-amr el-mihare* 'thou hast not taken up the matter in the right way,' has some connection with this stem מְהַר. For the development of the meanings of the stem מְהַר cf. our English 'expedient,' which means both 'quick' (originally 'relieved of impediments') and 'advisable.'

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Exod. 25<sup>30</sup>. For the golden table of the showbread see the English translation of the Psalms in *SBOT.*, p. 220, l. 28.

<sup>75</sup> Contrast Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 6<sup>b</sup>; 10<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> For the origin of the custom of eating unleavened bread at the Passover (cf. above, note 60) see notes on Ezekiel in *SBOT.* (Eng.), p. 199, l. 40; cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie* (Freiburg i. B., 1894), p. 432 below.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. notes on Leviticus in *SBOT.* (Eng.), p. 96, l. 30; Dillmann-Ryssel's commentary on Exodus and Leviticus, p. 653 below.

<sup>78</sup> In the Hebrew ritual the number of the showbreads was limited to one dozen, in accordance with the number of the twelve tribes. The breads were offered on behalf of the Israelites (Lev. 24<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>79</sup> Three dozens are mentioned in ll. 33, 61, 138 of the first ritual text *a* published by Zimmern (*op. cit.*, pp. 98, 100, 104); six dozens (for three tables) in l. 44 (p. 98); for one dozen, as in the Hebrew ritual (cf. above, note 78) see the references given by Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 94, 5, a.

<sup>80</sup> See Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 98, ll. 33, 43, 45, 47; *cf.* מִתֵּק Jud. 9<sup>11</sup>, Arab. مَطَقَة *matqe*, Ethiopic *metgat*. The fifth form of the verb means in Arabic 'to smack one's lips with relish' or rather 'to cluck' (French *cliquer*, German *schmalzen*); *i. e.* 'to make a noise by bringing the tongue in contact with the roof of the mouth' (صوت بلسانه يضطه بالغار الاعلى), just as מִצָּה 'unleavened bread' is derived from מִצֵּן 'to sip with delight,' Is. 66<sup>11</sup>; *cf.* Arab. قصب سكر = قصب مَص 'sugar cane'; it means, originally, 'something sweet,' like Assy. *mutqu*, not 'something insipid,' as Ges.-Buhl<sup>13</sup> supposes. In Arabic unleavened dough is called فطير (*cf.* Syr. فطير), leaven (Heb. תַּאֲוָר) is خمير. The verb فطر means 'to bake hastily unleavened bread' (فطر العجين اذا اختبزه). The primitive meaning of the stem פטר is 'to loosen' (*HW.*, p. 522<sup>a</sup>) *i. e.* with reference to dough, 'to make light.'

<sup>81</sup> See v. R. 24, 18 c. d (*cf.* *HW.*, 436<sup>a</sup> below); ZA. iv. p. 156, No. 2 (*cf.* Jensen, *Kosmol.* 279, n. 2).

<sup>82</sup> I shall discuss this term in a special paper.

<sup>83</sup> ונתן לבנה הירע והלחיים והקבה, LXX. καὶ δοῦναι τῷ λεπὲ τὸν Βραχίονα καὶ τὰ σιαγόνα καὶ τὸ ἐνσπνρον, Pesh. بَنَدَا مَعًا مَحْتَمَدَا, Arab. الذراع والفك والقبه.

<sup>84</sup> Ger. *Labmagen*. Rennet is connected with Ger. *gerinnen* 'to curdle, to coagulate.' A preparation of the mucus membrane of the rennet stomach of suckling calves (rennet ferment, Ger. *Lab*) is used for curdling milk.

<sup>85</sup> Or *psalterium*, Ger. *Psalter* or *Blättermagen*.

<sup>86</sup> See Aristoph. *Equ.* 356, 1184; *cf.* Pliny, viii, 180.

<sup>87</sup> See W. Robertson Smith *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed. (London, 1892), p. 384, note.

<sup>88</sup> Steuernagel (1898) translates *ein Vorderbein*; so, too, J. D. Michaelis (Göttingen, 1788): *ein Schulterstück*.

<sup>89</sup> Compare Num. 6<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> See Lev. 7<sup>31-34</sup> 10<sup>14</sup>; Exod. 29<sup>27-28</sup>; *cf.* Num. 6<sup>20</sup> 18<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> They are often termed חֵהּ התנפה and שוק התרומה, 'wave-breast' and 'thigh of presentation.' 'Wave' means 'to move to and fro toward the altar,' to symbolize the presentation of the gift to Yahweh. See notes on Leviticus in *SBOT.* (Eng.), p. 70, l. 19.

<sup>92</sup> v. R. 60, 61. The tablet (size about 11½ × 7 in.) was found, in 1881, by Hormuzd Rassam in an earthenware coffer buried, about three feet below the surface, in a corner of a chamber of the ancient temple of the Sun-god at Sippar, the present Aboo Habba, about sixteen miles southwest of Baghdad. For the representation of the Sun-god's shrine at the top of the obverse see notes on Isalah in *SBOT.* (Eng.), p. 180, and *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, June 7, 1881, p. 109; *Transactions of the Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. viii. p. 164; *cf. ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>95</sup> Dr. Peiser in Schrader's *KB.* iii. part 1 (Berlin, 1892), p. 181, l. 10 translates *Schenkelfleisch*; this would be, in the case of beef, the 'round' (Heb. שׁוֹק 'thigh') between the rump (Heb. יֶרֶךְ, Ger. *Nierenstück* or *Schwanzstück*) and the leg. But Assy. *sānu* denotes 'the loins' (Heb. מִתְנִים) between the hip-bone and the false ribs. According to Delitzsch's new cuneiform chrestomathy, p. 17, No. 133, the ideogram is supposed to denote 'loin, hip, thigh, leg,' as well as 'the place at the feet (מַגְלֹלֹת) or at the side of a person,' which is, of course, impossible; see also *HW.*, p. 491<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Lev. 7<sup>b</sup>; Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 9<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> Dr. Joh. Jeremias in his inaugural dissertation *Die Cultustafel von Sippar* (cf. *Beitr. z. Assy.*, vol. I. p. 274, col. v. l. 11) translates *Rücktheil* (whatever that may mean, but in his commentary (p. 286 = p. 19 of the reprint) he substitutes 'ribs,' and this mistake is reproduced in Dillmann-Ryssel's commentary on Exodus and Leviticus, p. 423 below. Dr. Peiser, *l. c.*, renders 'tendons,' but *arkatu* corresponds to Heb. יֶרֶךְ (Arab.

وَدْرِك *wadrik* or *wirk*) and means 'rump' or 'buttock'; cf. Exod. 28<sup>ab</sup>; linen breeches מִמְתִּינִים וְעַד-יֶרֶכִם. *Arkatu* represents a form *wadrikatu* (see my *Sumer, Familiengesetze*, p. 15, n. 3): it is by no means necessary to read throughout *arkātu*, fem. plur. of *arkā* (*HW.*, p. 242<sup>b</sup>). The יֶרֶכִם, that is, 'nates' (not 'the thigh'), was looked upon as the seat of procreative power; see W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, sec. ed., p. 380; cf. חֲלָצִים Gen. 35<sup>11</sup> 1 Kgs. 8<sup>19</sup> = 2 Chr. 6<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> Assy. *bu'and* (*HW.* 168<sup>b</sup>). Peiser leaves the word untranslated.

<sup>99</sup> Assy. *mišil*. For the connection of this word with Heb. מִשָּׁל, that is, a poetic line consisting of two hemistichs, see my note on Prov. 1<sup>a</sup> in A. Müller's and E. Kautzsch's *Crit. Ed. of the Heb. Text of Proverbs*.

<sup>100</sup> Assy. *karšu*. This is הכֶּרֶס הפְּנִימִית, not הכֶּרֶס החִיצוֹנָה. In Arabic كِرش *kirš* (for *kriš*) denotes especially the second stomach (Ger. *Netzmagen* or *Haube*) of ruminants, known as *reticulum* or 'honeycomb stomach,' on account of the hexagonal cells formed by the folds of its mucous membrane. The verb كَرَش means 'to be folded' or 'wrinkled' (تَقَبُّض); see Lagarde, *Bildung der Nomina*, p. 44, l. 20. Dr. Jeremias, *l. c.*, translates *die Hälfte vom Bauch* (so, too, *HW.* 356<sup>b</sup>); in the Commentary he substitutes *Bauchlappen*. Dr. Peiser renders *das halbe Bauchfleisch*; this would be 'half of the flanks.' For the Syriac form *kēris*, *kdrš* see my remarks in *Hebraica*, vol. I, p. 228, n. 1.

<sup>101</sup> Assy. *qirbu* (Heb. קִרְבָּ) refers especially to the viscera in the thoracic cavity (heart, lungs, etc.), while *karšu* denotes the viscera in the abdominal cavity (stomach, liver, etc.); contrast Dillmann on Lev. 1<sup>9</sup>. This is import-

ant for Exod. 12<sup>9</sup>. The *girbu* (Ger. *Brusteingeweide*) is separated from the *karšu* (Ger. *Baucheingeweide*) by the diaphragm or midriff (Arab. حجاب 'separating veil,' Heb. קרום החולק 'dividing membrane'). Arabic *qalb* 'heart' is probably identical with קרב (see Ges.-Buhl<sup>13</sup> s. v.). For the change of *l* and *r* cf. חלצים 'hips' Aram. שרשרות; חרצא 'chains,' Arab. سلسلة; אלמנה 'widow,' Arab. ارملة; Mand. תרמידא 'disciple' for תלמידא (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.* § 54). Arab. قرب *qurb* means 'hypochondriac region.' Peiser *l. c.* translates *das halbe Innere des Fleisches* (? !); Jeremias, *die Hälfte vom Gekröse*, i. e. 'mesentery,' thinking probably of *Inster* (stomach, intestines and omentum of a calf) and *Rindskaldaunen*. But this would be *karšu* (cf. كرش) not *girbu*.

<sup>100</sup> Assyr. *qurstnu*, dual *qurstnā*, plur. *qurstnāti* (*HW.*, p. 355<sup>b</sup>) i. e. the part of the leg between the knee and the foot (Heb. כרעים), the knee-joint or knuckle (not the ankle bone). Cf. Heb. מערו קרקלי. Ps. 18<sup>27</sup>, Syr. مرقى (with partial assimilation of the *o* to the initial *q* (cf. note 105). For interchange between *l* and *n* see note 104.

<sup>101</sup> Assyr. *dīqar me šīri*. In the passage of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic quoted *HW.*, p. 634<sup>b</sup> s. v. ישאר, we must read, not *me šīri* = Heb. מרק Jud. 6<sup>19</sup> Is. 65<sup>4</sup> (Arab. مرقعة *māraqa* or مسلوقة) but *šume šīri*, that is, 'roasted meat' (Heb. בשר צלוי, cf. 1 Sam. 2<sup>15</sup>); see below, note 107. Dr. Alfred Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 16, translates *Namen und Gedächtniss*. *Dīqaru* is, of course, identical with post-Biblical קדר 'earthen pot,' Arab. قدر (cf. Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 63).

<sup>102</sup> Cf. ll. 52, 80, 83, 86, 109, 164, 167, 170, 173, 176, 179, 182, 185 of ritual text *a* (Nos 1-20) published by Zimmern (pp. 101 ff.), also text *b* (p. 111), l. 9.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. text *a*, ll. 52, 109; *silqu* is omitted in ll. 80, 83, 86, 164, 167, 170, 173, 176, 179, 182, 185.

<sup>104</sup> I learn from Professor Zimmern that his reading *xinçd* for the ideogram ME-KAN is based on the fact that we find in K. 6060 (which will be published as No. 56 of his texts) *xi-in-ça* in the same context where we find, as a rule ME-KAN. See also li. R. 40, No. 1, 27 and Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge* (Berlin, 1890), p. 289, ad No. cvii, l. 9 (p. 150). For the interchange between *n* and *l* cf. Heb. לישכה = נשכה = Assyr. nešu

'lion,' Arab. صنم 'image,' كتنه 'daughter-in-law' = Assyr. *çalmu*, *kalātu* Syr. لمت = Assyr. *liqtul*, etc. (*Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, vol. i, p. 17, note 20). Ethiopic *bēndt* 'tribute' = Assyr. *bīndt* (בלוי) Ezr. 4<sup>15, 20</sup> 7<sup>24</sup>). (Cf. *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, vol. i, p. 161 below). There are a number of curious Semitic loan-words in Ethiopic, e. g. *adjām*, plur. *adjāmāt* = Assyr. *adnāti* (see critical

notes on Isaiah, p. 133, l. 22); *mašmar* 'line, verse' = Assy. *mušarā* (*HW.* 421<sup>a</sup>) or *mušard*; with partial assimilation of the *s* to the following *m*: *mazmar*, which may be influenced by *tasamdra* 'to quote, refer to.'

<sup>105</sup> *Sil-qu* is written with the character NUN, which is, as a rule, used for *gil* (contrast Jensen in *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, vol. 1, p. 320, note 2 = p. 39 of Jensen's thesis, Munich, 1885); see No. 4 of Zimmern's texts (pl. xxiii) l. 109; No. 5 (pl. xxiv) l. 109; No. 6 (pl. xxiv) l. 52; No. 11 (pl. xxvii) l. 109; traces of NUN are visible in No. 12 (pl. xxix) l. 109; in No. 4 (pl. xxiii) rev. 2, No. 5 (pl. xxiv) obv. 53, and in No. 7 (pl. xxv) l. 52 the word is not preserved. If we read *gilqu*, the initial *z* must be explained as partial assimilation of the initial *ḏ* to the final *q*; cf. the remarks above, at the end of note 40 as well as note 60; see also Nöldeke's Mandaic grammar, § 50.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. 1 Sam. 2<sup>18</sup>; Is. 44<sup>18 19</sup>; Ex. 12<sup>8</sup>. It is possible that צלי 'to pray' (Assyr. *ḡallā*) means originally 'to roast, to sacrifice'; cf. Heb. עתר 'to pray' = Arab. عتير 'to sacrifice,' especially 'to slaughter the sacrificial lamb' (عتيرة). In Ezek. 8<sup>11</sup> עתר is used of the sweet smoke of incense (ועתר הקטרת עלה; ענן is a gloss). התפלל 'to pray,' on the other hand, means 'to appeal' to God as the Supreme Judge, to ask Him to render a decision; cf. Ges.-Buhl<sup>12</sup> s. v. תפלל. In Ethiopic, *ḡaldwa* (ገልወ) means 'to roast,' and *ḡaldya* (ገልዮ) 'to pray'; but this a secondary differentiation. The word צלותא 'prayer' shows that the stem of צלי 'to pray' is ל"י. It is not impossible that there is some connection between צלה and קלה (Assyr. *ḡalā*, *HW.*, p. 585<sup>a</sup>) cf. Aram. ארקא 'earth' = ארץ. According to Zimmern in Ges.-Buhl<sup>12</sup> 689<sup>a</sup> מַחֲקָה in Jud. 5<sup>26</sup> is a dialectical byform of מחצה in the following clause, but this is improbable.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. ZA, ii, 280; v, 85; *HW.*, 668<sup>a</sup>. The correct rendering 'roast' has been suggested by Jensen; cf. Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 95, n. 5. From the Assyrian point of view it would be possible to regard *šumū* 'to roast' as a *Šaf'el* of חבי 'to glow, to be hot' (حيث الشمس اذا اشتد) just as שוה 'to be like' might be explained as a *Šaf'el* of חרְהָ (Assyr. *emū* 'to be like,' caus. *ušemš* (pronounced *ušeṣṣ*) 'I made like' (*HW.*, p. 82<sup>b</sup>). In the same way Assy. *šakānu* 'to make' could be explained as a *Šaf'el* of כָּאן, *šamū* 'heaven' as a *Šaf'el* of מָא 'water' (cf. critical notes on Isaiah, p. 157, l. 22); שקל 'to weigh, as a *Šaf'el* of קל, Assy. *šarāqu* 'to steal' as a *Šaf'el* of ריק 'empty,' Aram. סריק, cf. Assy. *sarāqu* 'to pour out,' *HW.*, p. 512<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> It would be more correct to spell the word with **א**; contrast Eth. *zar'e*: 'seed,' generally written with **א** for **ע**. The exact equivalent of **שָׂרִי** is Eth. *šawdya*: 'to ripen' (of grain); cf. **בִּשַׁל קִצִּיר** Joel 4<sup>13</sup>. Arab. **مستوى** 'ripe, thoroughly cooked' (cf. **طبخ** 'to ripen') is a later differentiation of **שָׂרִי** = Assy. *šumū*.

<sup>109</sup> Assy. *šū'u* (Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 55, l. 35; *HW.*, p. 632<sup>b</sup>). Cf. Syr. **ܢܥܐ** 'to sacrifice,' and **ܢܥܡܐ** 'sheep'; see Lotz, *Tiglathpileser* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 171, n. 2; cf. Brockelmann, *s. v.* and *HW.*, p. 480<sup>a</sup>. The Bedouins still live chiefly on bread and milk; a **שֶׂה**, *i. e.* a sheep or a goat (Exod. 12<sup>8</sup>) is eaten only when there is a guest (cf. *ξείνῳ λεπέσω*, Od. 14<sup>414</sup>). The settled population of Syria hardly eat any meat but mutton.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. critical notes on Isaiah, p. 204, *ad* p. 102, l. 20.

<sup>111</sup> *HW.*, p. 666<sup>a</sup>. The two passages there quoted were discussed in my paper "On the Etymology of **נִכְסִים**," *Hebraica*, vol. iii. (Jan. 1887), p. 110.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Levy's *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, *s. v.* **שֶׁלֶק**, also **סֶלֶק**. *Silqu* = *beta vulgaris* (cf. Brockelmann *s. v.* **سَلَكَا**) has probably no connection with this stem; it may be derived from **עֶלָה** = **سَلَف** Gen. 40<sup>10</sup>, 41<sup>12</sup>; Deut.

29<sup>28</sup> **סֶלַע נֶסֶף מִן הַחֶמֶץ**; Pesh. **וְלֹא יַעֲלֶה בָּהּ כָּל עֵשֶׂב**.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. text *a*, published by Zimmern, ll. 36, 72, 113, 121, 153; text *b*, ll. 9, 15.

<sup>114</sup> See Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 95, 6. For Assy. *muškinu* (*HW.*, p. 313<sup>a</sup>) 'humble, poor,' Heb. **מִסְכֵּן** see Ges.-Buhl<sup>13</sup> *s. v.*; the stem may be **כֹּן**, cf. post-Biblical **כֹּן לֵב לַשְׁמַיִם** 'to concentrate one's attention to God,' etc., **כֹּנֶה** 'devotion'; so *muškinu* means originally 'attentive,' then 'devout,' and finally 'humble, poor' (**עָנִי**, **עָנָו**). I stated in note 54 of my lecture on "The Book of Ecclesiastes," *Oriental Studies* (Boston, 1894) p. 275) that Assy. *uškin* was equivalent to Heb. **הִתְפַּלֵּל בְּכֹנֶה**. In the Old Testament we have: **הִכִּינוּ לִבְכֶּם אֶל יְהוָה וְעַבְדֵּהוּ לִבְדּוּ** 1 Sam. 7<sup>8</sup>; **דֹּר לֹא הָכִין הִכִּינוּ לְכָךְ וּפְרַשְׁתָּ אֵלָיו כַּפַּיךְ** Job 11<sup>13</sup>; **דֹּר לֹא הָכִין הִכִּינוּ לִבְכֶם אֶל יְהוָה וְעַבְדֵּהוּ לִבְדּוּ** Ps. 78<sup>8</sup> (cf. v. 85), Balthgen's rendering *wankelmüthig* is inaccurate; **וְעֹדֵר הָעָם לֹא הִכִּינוּ לִבְכֶם אֶל יְהוָה** 2 Chr. 20<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> See Lev. 5<sup>7, 11</sup>; cf. 12<sup>8</sup> 14<sup>21</sup> 27<sup>8</sup>. An ephah is equal to 77 American pints (see notes on Ezekiel, in *SBOT.*, p. 198, l. 50); consequently  $\frac{1}{10}$  ephah is nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  peck or about 4 lbs. of flour, which would be worth, in this country, about 15¢, while two squabs or young pigeons would cost 40 or 50¢.

<sup>118</sup> Albrecht Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, vol. ii, chapter iii, §§ 24, 25, second edition (Bonn, 1874), pp. 186-208; third edition (1889), pp. 187-212. Contrast W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, second edition, (1892), p. 381, n. 1. Rashi remarks *ad* Gen. 32<sup>11</sup> that כפר in connection with עון

and פנים means 'to wipe off,' and that the verb is Aramaic (ונראה בעיני שכל כפרה שאצל עון וחטא ואצל פנים כלן לשון קנוח והעברה הן ולשון ארמי הוא והרכה בנגמרא). Cf. Dillmann-Ryssel, *Exodus und Leviticus*, p. 466. For the connection between כפר

'to rub, to wipe off, to atone' (cf. מחה Ps. 51<sup>2.11</sup> Is. 43<sup>28</sup> 44<sup>29</sup>) and כפר 'asphalt,' (lit. 'rubbing, smearing, daubing'), compare Arab. مسح

which means both 'to wipe off, to deterge,' and 'to rub, to anoint,' (Heb. מָשַׁח 'to measure, to survey,' on the other hand, is an Aramaic

(or rather Assyrian) loan-word (= Assyr. *mašāxu* with خ); see above, note 42.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Paul de Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, vol. iii. (Göttingen, 1889) p. 352; vol. iv. (Göttingen, 1891) pp. 109, 393.

<sup>118</sup> See Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 127, l. 20.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Professor Toy's remarks on The Relation between Magic and Religion in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xx. (New Haven, 1899), p. 331.

<sup>120</sup> There is no direct reference to Jewish hieroscopy in the Old Testament, but I believe that certain features of the inspection of the intestines of slaughtered animals, which is still practiced by orthodox Jews, to determine whether the meat is fit (כשר) or unfit to eat (טרפה) were influenced by the anatomical knowledge and symptomatological experience gained by the Babylonian haruspices. Cf. the regulations concerning the סימני בהמה discussed in the Talmudic tract *K'hullin* and in the שצריך, כה, הלכות שחיטה, יורה דעה, ערוך, לברוק אחר השחיטה (p. 41 of the Wilna edition of 1895). An abstract of the principal regulations is given in H. G. F. Löwe's *Schulchan Aruch, oder Die vier jüdischen Gesetzbücher*, vol. i. second edition (Vienna, 1896) pp. 169 ff.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the word סימן, used of the symptoms indicating whether or not an animal is fit to be eaten, occurs in Assyrian with the meaning 'entrails'; cf. the description of the battle of Halûle in col. v. of the Sennacherib Prism: *simāne u munnešunu ušardū šir erīti šadilti* 'I scattered their entrails and bowels over the vast field' (*HW.*, p. 491<sup>b</sup>; *KB.* ii, 108). The stem of *simānu* (form like *lidānu*, from ولد) is رسم (note the meaning of the fifth form of the verb in Arabic,

قوسم), while *munnu* (*HW.* p. 419<sup>b</sup>) or *manu* (cf. Arab. مائة *ma'ne*, pl. مائة *ma'anne* 'umbilical region,' or 'hypochondriac region,' or 'peritoneal fat' and مائة *ma'anne* 'mark, sign') corresponds to Syriac ܡܢܢܐ 'bowels' (lit. 'internal vessels' or 'organs'). Professor Rogers in his translation of the Sennacherib Prism in the new series of the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. (1892) p. 98, repeated my old translation 'trophies and arms' (see "The Battle of Halûle" in the *Andover Review*, No. xxix., May 1886, p. 546, n. 10). The verb בדק 'to inspect' corresponds to the Assy. stem *batâqu* 'to dissect' (*HW.* 191<sup>a</sup>); the ד for ת is due to partial assimilation to the preceding ב, as in אבר and כבר for Assy. *abātu*, *kabātu* (cf. above, note 40).

There can be no doubt that half a loaf is better than no bread at all, and as long as there is no official meat-inspection in municipal abattoirs, as in Europe, the Jewish בדיקותא is a useful institution, although modern veterinarians would probably attach little importance to a number of points which render an animal טרפה.

## The Name of Samuel and the Stem שאל.

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### I.

THE ancient Hebrews along with their fellow Semites accepted the principle of *nomen et omen*. The name of an object constituted an essential element of that object. Existence was closely associated with name-giving. Hence the great importance attached to the names of persons in the Old Testament, an importance made manifest as much by the actual meanings of the names as by the interpretations, so often playful and fanciful, offered by the Old Testament writers. While the Hebrews probably at an early period gave names that were suggested by personal traits, these were regarded rather as sobriquets. The formal name, or perhaps it would be better to say the formal names, since the Hebrews shared with many other nations the custom of changing names at important or critical epochs of life, had always some religious significance, were omens of the fate to which the individual was expected to look forward, prayers that embodied the pious wish of parents, or sacred mottoes serving as talismans against mishaps.

Such motives naturally grew weaker in the course of time. Custom and tradition entered as determining factors in the choice of a name. It became usual for the grandson to bear the name of his grandfather.<sup>1</sup> Certain names were adopted in certain families as favorite designations. Moreover names were subject to abbreviation, and the fact that in this process the element which gave a name its religious import was often dropped, reveals a tendency toward what may be denominated the secularization of names. At the same time the interpretations of which certain of the Old Testament writers are particularly fond show conclusively that the Hebrews did not outgrow

<sup>1</sup> So, e.g., among the rulers of Sam'al in northern Syria. (See Sachau in *Ausgrabungen in Sendscherli*, p. 65.) The custom prevailed also in ancient Babylonia. See Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 15.

the idea that the name as such was of importance to its bearer and had a momentous, even if no longer a sacred, significance.

From this point of view we must regard the Biblical explanations of names. They are not etymologies in any proper sense of the word; and while often the writer hits upon the correct etymology, the principle of assonance which he follows frequently leads him astray. The important point for him is that the name should have a peculiar adaptation to the person who bears it, and the task imposed on us in the study of such interpretations is to grasp the writer's point of view. So, e.g., the name Isaac, which is explained as 'the laughner,' is adapted to the individual in question through the frequent reference to laughing and laughter in the course of the narrative of Isaac's career. Sarah laughs (Gen. 18<sup>12</sup>) when she hears that she is to have a son. God through Abraham chides her for laughing (v.<sup>13</sup>), and she denies that she has laughed (v.<sup>15</sup>). When Isaac is born, Sarah says that every one who will hear of the birth of her son will laugh (Gen. 21<sup>9</sup>). Sarah cannot bear to see Hagar's son 'laughing' (21<sup>10</sup>). Isaac is discovered by Abimelech 'laughing' with Rebecca his wife (Gen. 26<sup>8</sup>).

## II.

Generally the writer contents himself with a single reference to the interpretation of a person's name given in the account of his birth, but in the case of Samuel, as in that of Isaac, he dwells upon the interpretation with an emphasis which is unmistakable and which is clearly intentional.<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising, in view of the difficulties involved in the first chapter of Samuel where the birth of Samuel is narrated and the reasons for his name are given, that this name has been the subject of considerable discussion.

The older explanations rested on the assumption that the etymology proposed in the Book of Samuel formed a reliable starting-point. According to this etymology Samuel was so called because he had been 'asked for' from Yahweh. So Kamhi suggests that שְׁמוּאֵל is a contraction of שְׂמַל מֵאֵל, which became by syncope שְׁמֹאֵל and then שְׁמוּאֵל. Ewald (*Heb. Gram.*, p. 275, note 3) is inclined to accept this view, but Thenius<sup>3</sup> properly objects to its artificiality.

The late A. Bernstein in one of his ingenious and suggestive

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. 1<sup>17</sup>, 20, 27, 28, 2<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Commentary on 1 Samuel in *Kurzfassstes exegetisches Handbuch*, p. 7, and 3d ed., p. 9.

Biblical essays<sup>4</sup> proposes a more radical solution of the difficulty. He suggests that the story narrated in the first chapter of Samuel was originally told of Saul, whose name signifies 'the one asked for'; and that, through an error or with intent, the story was transferred to Samuel. The theory is ingeniously worked out by Bernstein, but this is all that can be said in its favor. It is quite common for stories told of one person to be transferred to another, but a story that is directly associated with a person's name does not fall within this category. No writer would so stultify himself as to spoil a story by telling it of a person to whom it did not apply. Moreover the proof brought by Bernstein will not stand the test of criticism.

Others interpret the Biblical etymology as though the writer had in mind the stem שָׁמַע 'hear,' which would make the name of Samuel a contraction of אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַע 'heard by God.'<sup>5</sup> Again, it has been proposed to take the name as compounded of שָׁמַי 'name' and אֱלֹהֵי 'God,'<sup>6</sup> but against this it has been urged that 'name of God' does not appear to be either an appropriate or a reasonable appellative for a person. Winckler<sup>7</sup> indeed proposes to interpret *Šemu* as the name of a deity, but the evidence for this supposition is defective. It rests upon a theory that the two sons of Noah, Shem and Ham, are in reality deities, but then we should expect the same to hold good of Noah and Japhet, and, indeed, also of Canaan. Hommel's view that *shemu* is contracted from *shum-hu*, i.e. 'his name,' is even less plausible (see note 83). Still, taking the name as it stands, the division of Samuel into the two elements שָׁמַי and אֱלֹהֵי is certainly the simplest procedure. It will be my endeavor in the course of this article to show that such a division is correct, but that שָׁמַי is not to be taken in the sense of 'name,' nor as the name of a deity.

<sup>4</sup> Bernstein's merits as an investigator of Biblical themes have not been properly recognized. He was exceedingly eccentric in some of his views, but his papers are replete with suggestions that deserve to be further considered and investigated.

<sup>5</sup> So Reuss in his great translation and commentary on the Bible, *La Bible*, vol. I. p. 235. Cook, *Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1898), p. 115, still follows this opinion.

<sup>6</sup> This explanation is traced back to St. Gregory (H. P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, in *International Critical Commentary*, New York, 1899, p. 13).

<sup>7</sup> *Alloriental. Forschungen*, II. p. 85.

## III.

The document in the first chapter of the Book of Samuel belongs, according to Budde's analysis,<sup>8</sup> to E, representing a later stratum of the Ephraimitic narrative. In the mind of this writer the name of Samuel was closely associated with the stem שאל, the general sense of which is 'to ask.' Hannah, on the occasion of a yearly pilgrimage to Shiloh, was observed by Eli, the guardian of the sanctuary, to be engaged in prayer without audible utterance of her petition. The unusual phenomenon of a worshipper addressing the deity directly, attracted Eli's attention, as well it might. No wonder he regarded her as befogged through drink, for only one bereft of reason could expect to obtain an oracle without the aid of a priest. Hannah was "asking" (v.<sup>26</sup>) for a son, *i.e.* she was seeking to know through an oracle whether she might expect to have a child. Eli intervenes and reassures her, saying, "Go in peace, and the God of Israel will grant thy asking which thou hast asked of him," ואלהי ישראל יתן את-שלתך אשר שאלת מנמו (v.<sup>17</sup>). Samuel is born, and Hannah calls her son's name "Samuel, for from Yahweh I asked him" שמואל כי מיהוה שאלתיו (v.<sup>20</sup>). So far everything is clear, except indeed the connection between שאל (upon which there is a constant play) and Samuel.

This play upon the stem שאל is continued. After the child is weaned, Hannah brings Samuel to Eli and tells the priest (v.<sup>27</sup>), אלהנער הנה התפללתי ונתן יהוה לי את-שאלתי אשר שאלתי מנמו, "For this lad I prayed, and Yahweh granted me my asking which I asked of him." Hannah proceeds (v.<sup>28</sup>), וגם אנכי השאלתיו, ליהוה בל-המים אשר הנה הוא שאל ליהוה וישתחו שם ליהוה. As the text stands it is ordinarily translated, "Therefore I also have lent<sup>9</sup> him to Yahweh; as long as he liveth he shall be lent<sup>10</sup> to Yahweh. And he (*sic!*) worshipped Yahweh there."<sup>11</sup> Once more the stem שאל is introduced in connection with Samuel. On the occasion of another visit paid by Hannah and her husband to the

<sup>8</sup> *SBOT*. (ed. Haupt), Part 8.

<sup>9</sup> R. V. "granted," which is by no means an improvement upon the older version.

<sup>10</sup> R. V. "he is granted."

<sup>11</sup> These words, if correct, are out of place. They are lacking in the Septuagint. In no case can they refer to Samuel but only to Elkanah; unless, indeed, we read the feminine instead of the masculine, and make the verb refer to Hannah.

sanctuary, Eli blesses the pair (2<sup>20</sup>), **יָשָׁם יְהוָה לָךְ וְרַע מִן־הָאִשָּׁה**, הוֹאֵת תַּחַת הַשָּׂאלָה אֲשֶׁר שָׁאל לַיהוָה. The text as it stands is ordinarily translated, "Yahweh give thee seed of this woman for the asking<sup>12</sup> which was<sup>13</sup> lent to Yahweh."

These two last passages, however, contain a number of difficulties. Taking up 1<sup>28</sup> we observe, in the first place, the use of the *Hiphil* of the verb **שָׁאל**, which is unusual. The only other passage in the Old Testament in which it occurs is Ex. 12<sup>36</sup>, where, speaking of the gold and silver objects and of the garments which the Israelites prior to their departure asked from the Egyptians, the narrator says, "Yahweh gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, **וַיִּשְׁאַלֵּם**." Dillman in his commentary<sup>14</sup> properly remarks that the rendering of the Septuagint and Vulgate, 'and they loaned them,' is not correct. The *Hiphil* of **שָׁאל** can only mean 'they caused them to ask,' i.e. 'encouraged them to ask for more' (so Rashi takes it), or 'they acquiesced in their petition,' i.e. 'granted them their request.' Dillman prefers the latter, which has the merit of being simpler than Rashi's explanation and is borne out by the introduction of the phrase immediately following, "and they stripped Egypt."<sup>15</sup> In the parallel passage (Ex. 3<sup>22</sup>) the same expression is used, the difference between the two versions being that, according to the one, the Israelites asked and then took as booty, while, according to the other, they asked and received as tribute or indemnity.

Referring to the passage in 1 Sam. 1<sup>28</sup>, Dillman also points out that the rendering 'I have lent him to Yahweh'<sup>16</sup> is inadmissible, and he suggests 'I have granted him to Yahweh.'<sup>17</sup> The objection, however, to this interpretation is obvious: it is not Yahweh who has made a petition but Hannah, and Hannah cannot, therefore, say that she has granted Yahweh's petition. Again, what can the phrase **שָׁאל לַיהוָה** mean in this connection? The context implies 'granted to Yahweh,' but if the active *Kal* of the stem signifies 'ask,' the passive participle can only mean 'asked for,' not 'granted.' Here we are confronted with a new difficulty: the verb **שָׁאל** with the preposition **לִ** signifies elsewhere either 'ask on behalf of a person'; as, e.g. **וַיִּשְׁאַל־לִי**

<sup>12</sup> Authorized and Revised Versions, "loan."

<sup>13</sup> Authorized Version, "is."

<sup>14</sup> *Kurzgefasstes exeg. Handbuch, Exodus*, p. 118.

<sup>15</sup> I.e. "plundered the country."

<sup>16</sup> So the Septuagint and Vulgate.

<sup>17</sup> So also the latest commentator, H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, p. 13 sq. Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift*, p. 282, retains the old rendering 'lent.'

(1 Ki. 2<sup>22</sup>), וַתִּשְׁאַל-לֵךְ (2 Chr. 1<sup>11</sup>); or 'ask regarding a person or thing,' e.g. תִּשְׁאַל לְשִׁמִּי (Gen. 32<sup>10</sup>), שְׁאַל-הָאִישׁ לָנוּ (Gen. 43<sup>7</sup>), שְׁאַל-נָא לְיָמִים רַאשֵׁינִים (Deut. 4<sup>32</sup>); but never 'to ask of' or 'from a person,' for which either the direct object is employed with אֶת, e.g. Gen. 44<sup>10</sup>, or the object with the preposition מִ, e.g. Jud. 8<sup>24</sup>, or מֵאֵת, e.g. Ps. 27<sup>4</sup>.

The question involved is not affected by the decision regarding the correctness of the Massoretic text, for whether we read כָּל הַיָּמִים כִּי אֲשֶׁר חַיָּה with Wellhausen (*Text d. Bücher Samuelis*, p. 42) and Smith (*Samuel*, p. 14), or retain הָיָה as Budde does (*SBOT*, Part 8), the problem remains the same. In the second passage (1 Sam. 2<sup>30</sup>) the difficulty involved in the phrase שְׁאַל לַיהוָה has already been touched upon. Wellhausen's proposition<sup>18</sup> to read שְׁאַל לַיהוָה in the sense of 'asked of Yahweh'<sup>19</sup> does not help us, for the reasons just set forth; while Budde's conjecture<sup>20</sup> of הַשְׁאָלָה, on the basis of the Septuagint text (adopted by the Vulgate and Peshitto), rests upon an erroneous interpretation of the passage in Exodus.<sup>21</sup> Klosterman<sup>22</sup> suggests אֲשֶׁר שְׁאַל יְהוָה, 'which Yahweh has asked,' i.e. 'borrowed'; but this introduces a thought which is manifestly not in the mind of the Old Testament writer: Yahweh has not asked for anything. Moreover, Hannah has not loaned her son to Yahweh, but has given him in accordance with her promise (1 Sam. 1<sup>11</sup>), וְנָתַתִּיו לַיהוָה כָּל-יְמֵי חַיָּיו, "And I shall give him to Yahweh during his whole life."

There is still a third proposition favored by Driver,<sup>23</sup> namely, to read אֲשֶׁר שְׁאַלָה לַיהוָה 'which she asked of Yahweh,'<sup>24</sup> but here again the objection holds good, that no proof can be furnished for the supposition that שְׁאַל with the preposition ל can mean 'ask of a person.' Besides, such a phrase as "in place of the asking which she has asked of Yahweh" strikes one, to say the least, as redundant and awkward. Again, it must be urged that the application of הַשְׁאָלָה 'the asking' to Samuel after he is born seems curious, if we accept the ordinary meaning of the term. Samuel does not represent the petition but the result of the petition, and the narrative is

<sup>18</sup> *Text der Bücher Samuelis*, p. 46.

<sup>19</sup> So also Kautzsch, *Heilige Schrift*, notes, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> *SBOT*, Part 8. See note, p. 54, adopted by Smith, p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> See above, p. 86.

<sup>22</sup> *Bücher Samuelis und K'nige*, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Notes on the Books of Samuel*, p. 25.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also 1<sup>28</sup> וַתִּתְּנֵהוּ, as the Septuagint reads at the beginning of 2<sup>11</sup> in place of the Massoretic וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, which also is adopted by Driver, Budde, and Smith.

too prosaic to admit of a usage which would be in place in poetic diction only.

The difficulties are not removed if we follow the reading of the Septuagint, **יִשְׁלֵם**, 'he will requite,' in the verse, instead of **יִשֶּׁם**. Though adopted by Wellhausen, Driver, Budde, Kautzsch, and Smith, I am unable to see the advantage of the Greek reading over the Massoretic text.

#### IV.

Evidently some other method than textual emendation must be followed in this case, if we are to reach a solution of the problem; and the question is therefore in order, whether in the two passages under consideration the writer may not have used the stem **שאל** in a sense somewhat different from the one hitherto taken for granted by scholars.

The verb **שאל** occurs very frequently in the Old Testament, but one is struck in examining these passages by the large number of instances in which it is used in the sense of a ceremonial 'asking,' an 'inquiry of God,' an 'oracle.' I find no less than twenty-eight certain instances of this kind. Let us take up first the passages which are perfectly clear.

In Num. 27<sup>21</sup>, when Joshua is formally installed as the successor of Moses, directions are given to him to stand before Eleazar the priest, **וְשָׁאַל לוֹ בַּמִּשְׁפָּט הָאוּרִים**, *i.e.* "seek an oracle through the medium of the *Urim*." By that oracle,<sup>25</sup> we are told, the actions of the Israelites were to be regulated. The expression **מִשְׁפָּט הָאוּרִים** is somewhat redundant, but the term **מִשְׁפָּט** 'decision' seems to have been introduced with the intention of removing any taint of that heathenish or early Semitic practice out of which, of course, the *Urim* originally sprang.<sup>26</sup> Hence in Ezekiel 21<sup>35</sup>, where there is a direct reference to Babylonian magic, we find the simpler phrase **שָׁאַל בְּתַרְפִּים** 'seeking an oracle through the *teraphim*,' which is placed in parallelism to **לִקְרֹא כִסְפִּים** 'to recite a magic formula,' and **קִלְקַל בַּחֲצִים** 'to throw arrows.' In place of *Urim* and *teraphim* the Hebrew writers of a more advanced age introduced 'Yahweh,' and the expression **שאל** **בַּיהוָה** became a standing phrase for 'seeking an oracle' by whatever means. So of Saul it is said on three occasions that he "inquired of Yahweh" or "of Elohim." In 1 Sam. 14<sup>37</sup> we read, **וַיִּשְׁאַל שָׁאוּל**

<sup>25</sup> **שָׁל פִּי** can only refer to the oracle.

<sup>26</sup> Benzinger, *Hebr. Archeologie*, pp. 407-408.

באלהים, in order to find out whether or not to pursue the Philistines. In 1 Sam. 28<sup>a</sup>, וַיִּשְׁאַל שְׁאֵל בִּיהֶנָּה, he fails to receive an answer, either through dreams, or through the *Urim*, or through the prophets. In 1 Chron. 10<sup>13</sup> Saul's sin in seeking an oracle by means of the witch of Endor is emphasized by the addition, וְהָם לְשֵׁאֵל קָאִיב, "he also inquired of the necromancer."<sup>27</sup>

In the narrative of David's career the expression "asking of Yahweh" in the sense of asking an oracle is used no less than eight times. In 1 Sam. 22<sup>13</sup>, וַיִּשְׁאַל לוֹ בִּיהֶנָּה, Ahimelech the priest seeks an oracle on behalf of David. In 1 Sam. 22<sup>13</sup> Saul reproaches Ahimelech for doing so, וְשִׁאֵל לוֹ בְּאֱלֹהִים, "Why do ye conspire against me . . . in asking of Elohim in his behalf?" Ahimelech replies (v. 13), הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לֹא־לִי לְשִׁאֵל לוֹ בְּאֱלֹהִים, "Have I to-day begun to seek an oracle of Elohim for him?" 1 Sam. 23<sup>1</sup> reads, וַיִּשְׁאַל דָּוִד בִּיהֶנָּה וְנֹ, "And David sought an oracle of Yahweh, asking, Shall I go to smite these Philistines?" 1 Sam. 23<sup>4</sup> states, וַיִּבְקֶה עוֹד דָּוִד לְשִׁאֵל בִּיהֶנָּה, "And David again sought an oracle of Yahweh." He receives the answer, "Arise, descend to Kēllah." In 1 Sam. 30<sup>6</sup>, וַיִּשְׁאַל דָּוִד בִּיהֶנָּה, the oracle is obtained by means of the *ephod*. In 2 Sam. 2<sup>1</sup>, וַיִּשְׁאַל דָּוִד בִּיהֶנָּה, two questions are put by the king: (1) Shall I go up into one of the cities of Judah? (2) To what place shall I go up? The answer to the first question is, "Go up"; the answer to the second question is, "Hebron." In a subsequent engagement with the Philistines David twice seeks an oracle (2 Sam. 5<sup>19, 23</sup>) וַיִּשְׁאַל דָּוִד בִּיהֶנָּה.<sup>28</sup>

Of the Israelites as a body seeking an oracle the same expression "ask" is used. Five passages occur: Jud. 1<sup>1</sup>, וַיִּשְׁאַלוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; Jud. 20<sup>23</sup>, וַיִּשְׁאַלוּ בִּיהֶנָּה; Jud. 20<sup>18</sup>, וַיִּשְׁאַלוּ בְּאֱלֹהִים; Jud. 20<sup>27</sup>, וַיִּשְׁאַלוּ בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל בִּיהֶנָּה; and 1 Sam. 10<sup>23</sup>, וַיִּשְׁאַלוּ-עוֹד בִּיהֶנָּה.

The Danites, coming to the house of Micha and recognizing the Levite who had accepted an engagement as priest to Micha, ask the latter to seek an oracle through the Levite, שְׁאַל-נָא בְּאֱלֹהִים, "Ask, prithee, of Elohim that we may know whether we shall succeed in the undertaking in which we are engaged" (Jud. 18<sup>5</sup>).

While the phrase in question embodied a practice that evidently antedated the worship of Yahweh and must have been common to the inhabitants of Palestine and Syria, the verb שאל continued to

<sup>27</sup> לְרֹשׁ at the end of the verse is a gloss explanatory of לְשֵׁאֵל. The Septuagint adds, "and when Samuel the prophet answered him."

<sup>28</sup> Parallel passage, 1 Chron. 14<sup>10, 14</sup>.

be used down to late days both for the legitimate inquiry through Yahweh and for the illegitimate inquiry through other deities or through witches. When Saul fails to receive an answer through Yahweh, he seeks out the witch of Endor; and when she brings up the shade of Samuel,<sup>29</sup> the latter says to Saul, וְלָמָּה תִּשְׁאַלֵנִי, "Why do you seek an oracle through me?" (1 Sam. 28<sup>10</sup>).

Hosea, reproaching the people for their illegitimate religious practices, says (Hos. 4<sup>12</sup>), עַמִּי בִּדְעוּ יִשְׁאָל, "My people seeks an oracle through a piece of wood."<sup>30</sup> Jeremiah, it is fair to presume, did not make use of magical rites in order to ascertain the will of Yahweh; but for all that, the same ancient phrase, "to inquire of Yahweh," is employed in his case. Zedekiah sends for Jeremiah and asks him to secure an oracle, שְׁאַל אֵנִי אֶתְךָ דְּבָר, "I ask thee something" (Jer. 38<sup>14</sup>). Upon the prophet's receiving an assurance that no harm will befall him whatever he may say, he announces Yahweh's answer, כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה (v.<sup>17f</sup>). Again in v.<sup>27</sup> we are told that "all the princes came unto Jeremiah," וַיִּשְׁאַלּוּ אֹתוֹ, "and asked him." It is an oracle that is sought.

Deut. 18<sup>16</sup> is another passage where שְׁאַל is used of the oracle obtained from Yahweh, and the passage is interesting also as illustrating the manner in which שְׁאַל בַּיהוָה becomes a standing phrase for seeking or receiving an oracle in general. The Israelites are warned not to follow the customs of the surrounding nations who hearken to sorcerers and magicians, but to obey the prophet who will arise in their midst, כָּכָל אֲשֶׁר-שְׁאַלְתָּ מִנֶּם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּהֹרֶב, which can only mean, "According to all that thou didst receive as an oracle from Yahweh, thy God, on Horeb."

Again, when Joshua's share in the conquered territory of Palestine is spoken of, we are told (Jos. 19<sup>50</sup>) עָלַּ פִּי יְהוָה נָתַנוּ לוֹ אֶת־הָעִיר אֶת־תִּמְנַת־סֶרַח. The reference is to the city Timnath-Serah, which is given to Joshua "by lot" (v.<sup>51</sup>). The verb שְׁאַל must, therefore, have reference to a religious inquiry and not to a personal request made by Joshua. We must, accordingly, translate, "By the decree of Yahweh they gave him the city, regarding which one had sought an oracle." The lot was one way, and indeed the most common way, of ascertaining what was the "decree of Yahweh." With this passage may be compared Jos. 9<sup>14</sup>, where the success of the strategy of the Gibeonites is attributed to the fact that the Israelites וְאֶת־פִּי וְאֶת־יְהוָה לֹא שְׁאַלּוּ, "did not seek an oracular decision of Yahweh."

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Is. 8<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> A reference to a species of *teraphim* cult.

The place to which people went to obtain an oracle was naturally the sanctuary, and a passage in 2 Sam. 20<sup>18</sup> shows the fame that some of these ancient sanctuaries had acquired. When Joab is about to lay siege to the town Abel, a "wise woman," *i.e.* probably a priestess or sorceress connected with the sanctuary, appeals to David's general to spare a place that once enjoyed the reputation of being a "mother in Israel," a metropolis, as we should say. To emphasize the fame and position once occupied by Abel, the woman recalls the time when people were wont to say, שָׂאֵל יִשְׂאֵל בְּאַבֵּל, "Let an oracle be sought in Abel." That is to say, in former times, when people were in doubt what to do in an emergency, they would say, "Let us go to Abel and obtain an oracle." The woman adds, וְכֵן הָתַמְנוּ, "And so they settled the matter." The oracle obtained at Abel put an end to further doubt or dispute.<sup>21</sup> Interpreted in this way, the passage, which has occasioned commentators no little difficulty, becomes perfectly clear. The woman could not more effectively point out the significance of Abel and its sanctity than by holding it up as the place to which people went with supreme confidence in the reliability of the oracle there obtained. Such a place ought not to be destroyed.<sup>22</sup>

Besides these twenty-eight passages in which שָׂאֵל is used directly of an oracle, there are a number of others in which the verb, while

<sup>21</sup> Professor Haupt proposes to regard הָתַמְנוּ as a denominative of תָּמַם.

<sup>22</sup> For discussions of the passage see Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Samuelis*, pp. 207, 208, and Budde, *SBOT.*, p. 96. Driver misses the point in supposing that the reference is to the wisdom of the inhabitants of Abel. The sanctuary is clearly meant. The reading of the Septuagint ἵκεν, instead of ἵκε, although adopted by most of the modern critics, is no improvement of the Massoretic text, which can be retained if my explanation be accepted. Dan was in no way connected with Abel, and there is no reason why an Abelite woman should introduce a reference to another place. A formidable difficulty confronts us in אָנֹכִי שָׁלַמְי אֶמְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (v.<sup>19</sup>), which gives no satisfactory sense. The text is hopelessly corrupt; but without going any further into the question, which would lead us too far from our subject, I cannot resist the temptation to quote Böttcher's translation of the part of the passage above considered, as a capital instance of the absurdities which even great scholars sometimes put into the mouth of an Old Testament writer. Böttcher renders:

"Und sie sprach als spräche sie: Reden reden sollte man doch zuerst noch, als spräche sie: Fragen anfragen sollte man in Abel; und so wurde man gewiss fertig;" — to which Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Samuelis*, p. 208, caustically adds, "Hoffentlich — aber es sieht nicht so aus."

Smith, in his *Commentary on Samuel*, p. 372, does not advance the interpretation of the passage, and contents himself with adopting Ewald's emendation, which is far from satisfactory.

used purely in the sense of 'asking,' is, nevertheless, associated with divine requests. This extended application is derived, I believe, from the more specific use of the verb in designating an oracle. When Ahaz is told on behalf of Yahweh to "ask for a sign from Yahweh," to make a "request" (שָׁאַלָה) of whatsoever nature he pleases, he refuses, saying, לֹא־אֶשְׁאַל וְלֹא־אֶנְסֶה אֶת־יְהוָה, "I will not ask, for I do not wish to try Yahweh" (Is. 7<sup>12</sup>). In thus using שָׁאַל and שָׁאַלָה (v.<sup>11</sup>) there may not have been in the prophet's mind any direct thought of an oracle, but these terms would not have been employed had they not acquired religious associations of a distinctive character.

A further and rather interesting application of the term based on its original use for 'oracle' is found in Hag. 2<sup>11</sup>, שָׁאַל־נָא אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים תּוֹרָה. Inasmuch as the word *torah* was itself originally applied to a decision or an instruction furnished by means of an oracle, the phrase might even be taken to mean, "Ask the priests for an oracle"; but at so late a period as the days of Haggai *torah* had acquired the technical sense of 'religious instruction,' and, corresponding with this meaning, שָׁאַל no longer designated the function of the priest in procuring an oracle, but was employed in the general sense of 'asking,' though still primarily an 'asking' of a religious import. So in Ps. 27<sup>4</sup>, אֶחַת שְׁאֵלָתִי מֵאֵת־יְהוָה, "One thing I ask of Yahweh"; and, again, Ps. 2<sup>8</sup>, שָׁאַל מִמֶּנִּי, "Ask of me and I will give nations as thy inheritance"; and Ps. 78<sup>18</sup>, וַיִּנְסוּ־אֶל בָּלְבָבָם לְשֹׁאֲל־אֱכֹל לֶיֶשֶׁם, "And they tried God in their heart to ask food for their soul," the verb is employed in the general sense of 'asking,' and yet with a religious flavor about it as a survival of the former application of the word to asking for an oracle.

A more direct reference to an oracle may be recognized in Ps. 35<sup>11</sup>, אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדַעְתִּי יִשְׁאַלּוּנִי, "Those whom I do not know inquire of me."

## V.

Turning now to the substantives derived from the root שָׁאַל, שָׁאַלָה and מִשְׁאָלוֹת, it will be found that out of the sixteen passages in question (שָׁאַלָה occurring fourteen times and מִשְׁאָלוֹת twice in the Old Testament) in six שָׁאַלָה is directly or remotely associated with Yahweh. Of the ten remaining passages in which the word is used in the simple sense of 'asking,' four are in so late a composition

as the Book of Esther; so that, outside of this book, the two applications of the word, the religious and the secular, are evenly balanced. The conclusion which we are permitted to draw is, that שאלה arose in connection with the religious use of the verb שאל and that it was particularly applicable to something asked for and obtained by means of an oracle. There are three instances in the Psalms where שאלה and שאל refer to something obtained from God: Ps. 20<sup>6</sup>, יִמְלֵא יְהוָה כָּל־מִשְׁאָלוֹתַי, "Yahweh grant thee all thy askings"; Ps. 37<sup>4</sup>, וַיִּתֵּן־לִי מִשְׁאָלוֹת לִבִּי, "He will grant thee the askings of thy heart"; Ps. 106<sup>15</sup>, וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם שְׂאֵלָתָם, "And he granted them their asking." The other three occurrences of שאלה are in connection with Samuel, as instanced at the beginning of this article, namely, 1 Sam. i 17, 27 2<sup>30</sup>.

Proceeding to the post-Biblical literature, it is interesting to note what seems clearly a late survival of the original sense of שאל as the request for an oracular decision. In an article by S. Mendelssohn,<sup>30</sup> devoted to a discussion of שאל, שאילתא, שאלות, and שאילתות in Talmudical usage, it is satisfactorily shown that the verb שאל is frequently used in the sense of 'assert.' Such a meaning cannot possibly be derived from the ordinary sense of 'ask.' Mendelssohn further points out that this same verb is used as a synonym of דרש, the technical term for pronouncing a legal decision. Corresponding to the momentous change represented by the substitution of rabbinical authority for priestly prerogative, the oracular response would naturally develop into the authoritative assertion of a scholar versed in Judaic lore. By thus joining the Talmudical usage to the Biblical application of the verb, the various steps involved in the transition from the earliest to the latest meaning become clear. The substantive שאלתא in Talmudical parlance again corresponds to the Biblical noun שאלה in the passages above instanced. Instead of the 'oracles' of priests we have the 'decisions' of Rabbis, and, accordingly, Mendelssohn renders the substantive in question by 'assertion,' 'proposition,' and the verb by 'to affirm,' 'to announce an opinion.'

In connection with שאילתות, which appears as a title of a famous Rabbinical work,<sup>31</sup> S. Mendelssohn quotes a significant remark of Weiss, from which it appears that this author likewise recognized the connection between the Talmudical usage and the ancient Semitic method of obtaining a decision through an oracular 'asking,' although he did not carry his investigation of the term to its proper issue.

<sup>30</sup> *Revue des Études Juives*, XXXII. pp. 56-62.

<sup>31</sup> שאילתות ררבי אחאי.

From the sense of 'decisions' a further *nuance* was developed, and in the title of the Rabbinical work in question the term **שאלות** has about the same force as "opinions."<sup>85</sup> Lastly, we may note that the theological term in the Judaism of the middle ages for a 'ritualistic inquiry' is again **שאלה**, which, though far removed from the notion of an 'oracle,' would not have been carried over into the new order of religious ideas and methods, had not the word been intimately associated with the religious life of the ancient Hebrews.

## VI.

We are now prepared to take up two passages in the Old Testament in which a peculiar use of the active participle of **שאל** may be recognized, and if the explanation about to be proposed be correct, we shall have taken a long step toward the solution of the difficulties in the two passages from the Book of Samuel which led to this investigation of the use of the stem **שאל**. If **שאל** means 'to seek an oracle,' it would be natural to apply the participle **שאל** to the 'one who obtains the oracle,' that is, the sorcerer, soothsayer, guardian of a sanctuary, or priest, as the case may be; for it must be borne in mind that, since according to Semitic ideas, the worshipper approaches the deity only through the mediation of some one who stands close to a superior power, it is the mediator and not the worshipper who in reality does the 'asking' of the deity.

In Deut. 18<sup>11</sup> and Mic. 7<sup>3</sup> **שאל**, as I shall endeavor to show, is used in this way of the one who obtains the oracle. The former passage is in the famous section embodying the prohibition of resorting to magic or to incantations of any kind. In order to make the prohibition explicit, the various classes of sorcerers and magicians are enumerated: "There shall not be found in thy midst . . . the reciter of charms, the inspector of clouds, the snake-charmer, nor the sorcerer." The text then proceeds, **חֹכֵר חֵבֶר וְשֹׂאֵל אוֹב** **וְיִדְּעֵנִי וְדָרַשׁ אֱלֹהִים**. To enter upon a detailed discussion of the passage would carry us too far. Suffice it to say that the **חֹכֵר חֵבֶר** is the 'tier of knots,' a common type of magician;<sup>86</sup> the **אוֹב** and the **יִדְּעֵנִי**, who occur very frequently side by side,<sup>87</sup> are classes of priests whose particular function is the conjuring of the spirits of

<sup>85</sup> Hardly 'discussions,' as Mendelssohn proposes as an alternative to 'observations.'

<sup>86</sup> See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 268.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. 2 Ki. 23<sup>24</sup> Lev. 19<sup>31</sup> 20<sup>6</sup> 20<sup>27</sup> 1 Sam. 28<sup>8</sup>.

the dead; while דַּרְשׁ אֱלֹהִים is either a gloss explanatory of אוֹב and יִדְעֵנִי or is another name for a class of magicians who 'seek' or 'inquire of the dead.' In the same way שָׂאֵל refers to a class of priests. To connect שָׂאֵל with אוֹב, as is commonly done in rendering this passage, and translate 'who consulteth a ghost or a familiar spirit' <sup>38</sup> is totally unwarranted. The context shows that the aim of the statute is to drive out of the land the various classes of men who make use of magic in healing diseases, or those who seek oracles from any other source than from Yahweh. The law is not aimed against those who consult the sorcerers and magicians but directly and solely against the sorcerers. I hold, therefore, that v.<sup>11</sup> enumerates five classes of functionaries attached to the old Semitic sanctuaries of Palestine and Syria; and that the שָׂאֵל is as distinct a profession as the אוֹב, <sup>39</sup> the חֶבֶר חֶבֶר, the יִדְעֵנִי, or any of the four classes enumerated in the preceding verse, viz. the קַסָּם קַסָּמִים, the מְכַשֵּׁף, the מְנַחֵשׁ, and the מְטַיֵּן.

Taking up the passage in Micah, I venture to suggest that we have here another instance of the use of שָׂאֵל as a religious functionary, introduced by the prophet as almost synonymous with כֹּהֵן, the common term for priest.

The passage (Mic. 7<sup>a</sup>) reads, עֲלִיזָרַע כַּפִּים לְהִטִּיב הָשָׂר שָׂאֵל, וְהַשְׁפֵּט בְּשָׁלוֹם וְתַקְדֹּל דִּבַּר הוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ. On the various textual difficulties involved in this verse it is sufficient to refer to Wellhausen's remarks in *Die kleinen Propheten*, p. 146.<sup>40</sup> Thanks chiefly to the preceding verse, the sense is tolerably clear. The prophet laments the absence of private morality and of public righteousness. The second verse of the chapter is devoted to the former theme, the third verse to the latter. In the more simple state of society represented by the Pentateuchal legislation, two classes of the inhabitants are concerned in the execution of justice, the judges and the priests, but in the more elaborate organization of the kingdom there is added to these two classes a third functionary, the king. We are justified in looking for these three officials in the passage in question. To take שָׂאֵל as an active participle and translate it 'asks,' and then to interpret it as meaning 'ask for a bribe,' is awkward and is not warranted by the manner in which it is introduced. Moreover, if שָׂאֵל be construed as a participle, the parallelism leads us to expect

<sup>38</sup> So even in the latest commentary by Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 225.

<sup>39</sup> For אוֹב as the name of a distinct class of necromancers see also 1 Chr. 10<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. V.

a participle after שִׁפְט. Instead, we have the very obscure term בְּשָׁלוֹם. The first part of the verse, עַל־הָרַע בָּפִים לְהִטִּיב, may be rendered 'to be intent upon wrong doing,'<sup>41</sup> but after this phrase one expects some verb in the perfect tense. This verb is to be looked for in the corrupt word בְּשָׁלוֹם,<sup>42</sup> to which the three officials שָׂר, שָׂאֵל, and שִׁפְט are subjects. It is open to question whether at the time when the text of Micah was fixed the verse under discussion was any longer understood. The omission of the article from שָׂאֵל<sup>43</sup> may be due to correction in order to obtain a better sense. At all events, whatever the emendations that may be needed in order to get the original form of the passage, I venture to think that in taking שָׂאֵל or הַשָּׂאֵל as a name for the priest purposely introduced by Micah, one element of obscurity is removed. The prophet uses the old word which is replete with heathenish associations instead of the more dignified and appropriate term כֹּהֵן, partly in order to cast a reproach upon the priests, whom he is fond of denouncing, partly, perhaps, in order to veil his meaning, just as he uses שָׂר instead of the more familiar מַלְאָךְ. He could in no more forcible manner denounce the priests of Israel and of Judah than by calling them "oracle-seekers." That Micah was familiar with the old religious terms, and that the old Semitic usages still prevailed in the regular worship, is sufficiently shown by the third chapter, where he denounces (v. 7) the "seers" and "the workers of magic," and declares (v. 11) that "the priests furnish oracles for pay" and that "the prophets practise magic for silver."

As a further justification for recognizing in שָׂאֵל one of the old terms to express the priestly function, we may point to the Assyrian, where we have a perfect equivalent to the Hebrew term in *sha-i-lu* as a designation for 'priest.' In a syllabary (V. R. 13, rev. 48) "the term occurs preceded by *ášhippu*, *bârû*, 'magic-worker,' 'a seer.' Both these words are of very common occurrence. In religious texts *bârû* and *shâilu* are found side by side; e.g. IV. R<sup>2</sup>. 22, No. 2, 8-10; 60 B., obv., 6-7. Independently, the word occurs in V. R. 47, 36 a, and in a hymn published by Brünnow, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, IV., p. 26, line 38. Jensen in the *Zeitschr. f. Keilschriftforschung*, II., p. 423, already recognized that *shâilu* signifies 'the inquirer.' Zimmern

<sup>41</sup> Taking הָרַע בָּפִים as a compound term.

<sup>42</sup> Renan, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, II., p. 519.

<sup>43</sup> As against הַשִּׁפְט, הַשָּׂאֵל.

<sup>44</sup> The great collection of *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum* projected and at first edited by H. C. Rawlinson is designated by the letter R.

(*Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 14, note 4) not only accepts this opinion but (*ib.*, p. 99) suggests also that the Assyrian stem *shālu* 'to decide,' from which we obtain *shilu* 'decider, guide,' *shitultu*<sup>45</sup> 'decision,' and *shalitu* 'royal power,' is identical with שאל 'ask.' To these words we may add another derivative, *mashaltu* 'ban.' A transition from the idea of 'asking' to the notion of 'deciding' is perfectly intelligible,<sup>46</sup> if we assume that the 'asking' was originally a species of oracle. I cannot, therefore, agree with a later view of Jensen,<sup>47</sup> who defines the *shālu* as the priest who asks and secures atonement for sinners through his intercession with an angered god or goddess. The occurrence of the word in the el-Amarna tablets,<sup>48</sup> *Sha-i-li nashri ush-she-ra-an-ni*, "send me an eagle-inquirer,"<sup>49</sup> is sufficient to prove that the *shālu* was distinctly a priest who sought an oracle. The connection between *shālu* 'decide,' *shilu* 'decider,' and the like, and our word *shālu* may be maintained, even if in opposition to Zimmern we follow Delitzsch,<sup>50</sup> who assumes two distinct stems, שול (or שיל) and שאל respectively. The presence of the two essential consonants של is sufficient to demonstrate the close bond existing between the two stems.

Delitzsch,<sup>51</sup> however, separates *shālu* from שאל and divides the word into two parts *sha*<sup>52</sup> and *ilu*,<sup>53</sup> i.e. 'belonging to a god.' He advocates this view because of the word *sha-il-tu*, which appears in the syllabary V. R. 13. 49-51, in the lines following upon *shālu*. Delitzsch urges that *shailtu* cannot be the feminine to *shālu*. It is true that we should expect the feminine corresponding to *shālu* to be *shālatu*, and yet through syncope<sup>54</sup> *shālatu* could become *shailtu*. Moreover, *shailtu* could be the feminine to an adjective *sha'lu*, as *kashittu* (for *kashid-tu*) is the feminine to *kashdu*, and it is by no

<sup>46</sup> Incidentally this suggestion throws further light upon the Talmudical usage above instanced, of שאל in the sense of 'affirm' and of שאלתך as 'decision, proposition.'

<sup>45</sup> The same transition occurs in the post-Biblical usage above instanced.

<sup>47</sup> *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 438.

<sup>48</sup> Bezold, *Tell-el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 5, obv. 26.

<sup>49</sup> I.e. a priest who secures an oracle by watching the flight of eagles, 'a falconer.' That the *shālu* appears at times also as an 'interpreter of dreams' (Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Babylon. Religion*, II. p. 86) merely indicates that the word came to be applied in a more general way to priestly functions; and moreover, interpretation of dreams is a species of oracular functions.

<sup>50</sup> *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 646 b, *Shitultu*, Delitzsch, 633.

<sup>51</sup> *Ib.* p. 634 a.

<sup>53</sup> 'God.'

<sup>52</sup> Relative particle.

<sup>54</sup> Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.* § 68.

means necessary to suppose that in the syllabary in question *shailtu* must be the feminine to *shāilu* because occurring in proximity to the latter. As is so often the case in texts of this kind, the syllabary throws together words sounding alike but of different meaning and derived from different stems or arising from different forms and modes of the same stem. So *hārū* 'seer' and *barū* 'to be full' are thrown together. Correspondingly, *shāilu* 'priest' and *shāilu* 'a species of locusts'<sup>55</sup> are written with the same series of ideographs but are to be traced back to different stems. The tablet in question is unfortunately broken, but enough remains to indicate that the ideographic equivalents for *shāilu* and *shāiltu* are not alike. Hence there is a presumption in favor of separating *shāiltu* entirely from *shāilu*.

Again, it may be urged that a compound word meaning 'belonging to a god' is, to say the least, a very strange term to indicate a special class of priests. The case is different with *shangu* 'priest,' which Jensen explains as arising from *sha* and *naḫū* 'the one over the sacrifice'; for *shangu* is a general designation for 'priest,' and to describe the priest as the one who presides over the sacrifice is intelligible, though, it may be added, scholars are by no means agreed in accepting Jensen's explanation.<sup>56</sup> The priest, moreover, according to Babylonian ideas, does not belong to God but acts as a mediator between the deity and the worshipper. There is, therefore, no reason to question the correctness of Zimmern's view that *shāilu* designates a class of priests as 'the inquirers,' those who 'ask' a deity for an oracle on behalf of a worshipper who comes to seek guidance in some undertaking or explanation of some incident that has befallen him.

In further proof of this we may point not only to the passages in the incantation-texts where *shāilu* occurs<sup>57</sup> but also to the fact that the verb *shālu* is used in Assyrian, precisely as in Hebrew, to indicate an inquiry by means of an oracle. In incantation-texts the verb *shālu* is of frequent occurrence, though in the wider sense of 'inquire' in general. In IV. R. 51, Col. II., 48-59 *b*, and 52, Col. III., 1-13 *b*, there occurs a long list of occasions on which one should consult the will of the gods. We are told *sha-a-il sha-a-il ina irshi sha-a-il ina kussi sha-a-il*, etc., "One should seek an oracle on the couch or on

<sup>55</sup> II. R. 5, rev. 10 *c-d*.

<sup>56</sup> Delitzsch in his dictionary makes no mention of it. Muss-Arnolt and many others reject it. See *Am. Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. XV., p. 31.

<sup>57</sup> See the passages quoted above.

the throne." One should seek an oracle, that is, in whatever position of life, whether one occupies an humble or an elevated rank. The text continues (Col. III., 6), "One should seek an oracle at the rising and at the setting of the sun, upon coming out of the city and upon entering it, upon leaving the gate and upon entering it, in the street, in the temple, and on the road . . . on a ship, whether one be at the helm or in the prow, upon encountering a wild beast, etc." Knudtzon<sup>58</sup> has published a long series of royal prayers addressed to the sun-god. In these the king endeavors to secure guidance for the conduct of an important military undertaking. After preparing the sacrifices in the proper manner, the priest is invariably introduced as addressing the god, "I ask thee Shamash, great god, etc."

Finally, to clinch the argument, in a passage in an Assyrian hymn published by Brünnow the sun-god is addressed as *musheme shâilû*,<sup>59</sup> "he who answers inquirers."<sup>60</sup> This shows that the Babylonians themselves regarded *shâilu* as a derivative of שאל 'to ask.' Hence Shamash, as well as other gods, is addressed as *mushialum*,<sup>61</sup> i.e. 'he who gives the answer to an inquiry' and hence 'decides fates.' It is interesting to note in this connection that in a syllabary *shâilu* is entered as a synonym of *abu*, which is not the equivalent of the Hebrew אב, as Jensen (*Zeitschr. f. Keils.* II., p. 423) believes, but of *ab*, 'father.' It appears, therefore, that among the Babylonians, as among the early Hebrews,<sup>62</sup> 'father' was one of the terms for priest.

## VII.

The investigation of the stem שאל will have justified, I trust, our seeking in connection with the assignment of a name to Samuel, some trace of the religious use to which this root is put. Samuel has been "asked for" of Yahweh, and so far we have an illustration of the wider use of the verb, though it still indicates a request made of a deity. Hannah goes to the sanctuary, but instead of placing the request before the priest, who as the mediator will bring it before Yahweh and ascertain whether it is to be granted, she prays for herself, brings her request directly before her God.<sup>63</sup> When Samuel is born, Hannah forms the resolve (1<sup>st</sup>) to devote her son to the

<sup>58</sup> *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott, etc.* (Leipzig, 1893).

<sup>59</sup> *Zeits. f. Assyri.*, IV., pp. 26-38, and see Zimmern, *Z.A.*, V., p. 88 note.

<sup>60</sup> I.e. the priests.

<sup>61</sup> See the passages in Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, p. 633 b.

<sup>62</sup> See, e.g., Jud. 17<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> See above, p. 85.

service of Yahweh. She carries out her resolve; and since her words, **וְנָם אֲנִי הַשְׂאֵל לַיהוָה**, are clearly intended to convey the formal dedication of Samuel to the service of Yahweh, I have no hesitation in regarding the *Hiphil* of **שָׂאֵל** as a denominative of **שָׂאֵל** in the sense of 'priest' and in rendering, "Therefore I devote him to Yahweh." The *Hiphil* is the usual form used in Hebrew for denominative verbs.<sup>64</sup> Just as from **שָׁלַג** 'snow' the *Hiphil* is used for 'making snow,' so from **שָׂאֵל** the *Hiphil* would signify 'to make one a priest.' To make a person a priest is to devote him to the service of Yahweh. In this way the phrase used by Hannah becomes clear; and the double play involved in the use of **שָׂאֵל**,—Samuel having been "asked for," and therefore made a divine "asker" or "inquirer,"—adds an element to the name of the child which fits in admirably with the career of Samuel, who so often appears in the title of an "inquirer" and who stands in close relations to Yahweh.<sup>65</sup>

As for the second part of the verse (1<sup>20</sup>), **כָּל־הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר הָיָה הוּא, שָׂאֵל לַיהוָה**, the possibility that **שָׂאֵל** may be an error for **שָׂאֵל** is to be taken into consideration. Certainly, if we read **שָׂאֵל**, we would have an appropriate rendering at hand, "As long as he lives<sup>66</sup> he is to be a *shōʾēl*, i.e. a priest to Yahweh." But even this emendation, though slight, is not necessary. There are several instances of the passive participle of the *Kal* being used to replace the participles of other modes of the verb.<sup>67</sup> So we have **בָּרוּךְ** used in the sense of 'blessed,' whereas it is the *Piel* and not the *Kal* of the root which means 'to bless.' We find **דִּבֶּר** (Prov. 25<sup>11</sup>) as the passive participle to the *Piel* **דִּבֶּר** 'speak.' Moreover, this same passive participle of the *Kal* is used as a denominative; and **שָׂאֵל** may, therefore, be taken in the sense of 'regarded as a **שָׂאֵל**' as well as 'made a **שָׂאֵל**.' In either case the phrase in question may be rendered freely, "As long as he lives he is to be devoted to Yahweh," i.e. either "regarded as Yahweh's priest," or "constituted a priest to Yahweh."

Coming to the second passage, 1 Sam. 2<sup>20</sup>, **תַּחַת הַשְׂאֵלָה אֲשֶׁר, שָׂאֵל לַיהוָה**, I do not see how, in view of the difficulties above pointed out, the reading **שָׂאֵל לַיהוָה** can be maintained. Accepting Wellhausen's emendation **שָׂאֵל** as the least violent, involving only a

<sup>64</sup> Cf. **הִמְסִיד** from **מָסַד**, **הִרְרִיעַ** from **רָרַע**, etc. See Stade, *Heb. Gram.*, p. 160 b.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. 1 Sam. 3<sup>19-21</sup> 7<sup>8</sup>. Cf. also the interesting allusion, Ps. 99<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> **הָיָה** can be used in this way as well as **הָיָה**.

<sup>67</sup> Olshausen, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*, § 245 note.

slight departure from the Massoretic text and putting the verse in better accord with 1 Sam. 1<sup>28</sup>, I would again propose to take שָׂאֵל in the sense of 'regarded as a שָׂאֵל' or 'made a שָׂאֵל' and translate, "In place of what has been asked for, which is devoted to Yahweh." In all three cases, then, we have the same double play upon שָׂאֵל.

In the light of this interpretation of the passages, I should like to inquire before passing on whether the obscure passage 2 Ki. 6<sup>3</sup>, אָדָּה, אֶדְנִי וְהוּא שָׂאֵל, may not mean, "Alas, my lord, and it is a devoted object!" The incident there related is exceedingly strange, and I confess that I do not understand its import. While it may only have been introduced to illustrate Elisha's power, one is inclined to suspect that the prophet's disciples are engaged in some religious observance. The word מְקוֹם, as is well known, is frequently used for 'a sanctuary,'<sup>68</sup> and this may be the meaning of the words, "Let us make for ourselves there a מְקוֹם for a dwelling." To suppose that the disciple who drops his axe is worried because "it is borrowed," gives to the incident a ludicrous turn. An instrument used in building a sacred edifice is in a sense "devoted." On such a supposition the cry of the disciple is at least intelligible.

In the name of Saul (שָׂאֵל) we have another illustration of this same use of the passive participle of the *Kal* in the sense of 'devoted to Yahweh.'

### VIII.

Still another question confronts us in connection with the name of Samuel, namely, what led the Biblical writer to choose the stem שָׂאֵל as a play upon such a name as Samuel? It is hard to believe that he should have regarded שְׁמוּאֵל as due to contraction from שָׂאֵל מְאֵל, and we have seen that other explanations offered<sup>69</sup> are not more satisfactory.

Bearing in mind that the plays upon proper names in the Old Testament depend, as Driver puts it, "upon assonance and not upon etymology," we need not necessarily expect a perfect accord between the name and the play upon it. A few examples will suffice. Leah calls her first-born רְאוּבֵן, saying, יֵרֹדָה בְּעֶנְיִי.<sup>70</sup> The second element in Reuben is associated with *b'onyl*. The assonance between this word and *ben* is remote, and yet is regarded as sufficient by the Biblical writer to serve as an interpretation for the name in

<sup>68</sup> In Arabic *makdm* is a 'chapel.'

<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 83.

<sup>70</sup> "Yahweh has seen my affliction" (Gen. 29<sup>82</sup>).

question. Again, when Zilpah bears a son to Jacob, Leah says "*bagad*"<sup>71</sup> (whatever that may mean), and therefore calls his name Gad. Here assonance suffices without even an approach to perfect accord. According to 1 Chr. 4<sup>9b</sup> Ya'beš receives his name because his mother bore him 'in pain' *b<sup>e</sup>ḏṣeb*. This play between *בְּעֶבֶב* and *בְּעֶבֶב* is particularly instructive, and so is the play upon *בְּנֵימִין* and *בֶּן-אֵינִי*,<sup>72</sup> where once more there is a most imperfect accord between the sound of the name and the play upon it. Still, *Sh'mûl* and *shā'al* are perhaps too far apart to satisfy even the most modest demands for some kind of assonance.

The chief obstacle in the way of an accord between the name and the root *שאל* is, of course, the *m* in *Sh'mûl*; but, as is well known, *mem* is a letter in the Semitic alphabet the pronunciation of which is most vague. Assyrian affords the best illustration, where *mem* frequently has the sound of the Hebrew *waw*<sup>73</sup> and is often so represented in the reproduction of Assyrian words that have gone over into other languages. The transition of *m* to *w* is seen also in the case of the conjunction in the Semitic languages, *wa* in Hebrew and Arabic being represented by *ma* in Assyrian. Bearing this in mind, we can see how *Sh'mûl* would approach in sound a name like *Sh'wûl*; or, just as among Jews *Sh'mûl* becomes by a slurred pronunciation *Shmûl*, so *Sh'wûl* would sound like *Sh'wûl*. In this way a closer assonance, warranting a play upon some form of the stem *shā'al* (or *Sha'ûl*) would be brought about. We may safely regard *שְׁמוּאֵל* (1 Chr. 23<sup>16</sup> 26<sup>24</sup> 25<sup>4</sup>) as a variant to *שְׁמוּאֵל* with the *m*-sound weakened. Another rather interesting indication that the *m* in *Sh'mûl* had a tendency to disappear almost entirely or, at all events, to become closely akin to *w* is furnished by the form *Samwel* or *Zanwill*, under which the name appears among modern Jews in Southern Germany, Poland, and Galicia. Here the *n* is a nasal sound which has been inserted, whereas the *m* is represented by *w*. Somewhat modified, with the nasal insertion more pronounced, the same name appears in that of the well-known English novelist Zangwill.<sup>74</sup> By way of confirmation of the view here maintained Professor Paul Haupt

<sup>71</sup> Gen. 30<sup>11</sup>. The *Ḳ'ri* *קָא* is an attempt to clear up the mystery.

<sup>72</sup> Gen. 35<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> See Delitzsch's *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 44, for numerous examples.

<sup>74</sup> See *The American Hebrew*, March 16, 1900. One might note also the modern Arabic form *Samwil* in *Nebī Samwil* (see Smith's *Samuel*, p. 5), where the original *m* has become a *w* and by a secondary process another *m* has been inserted.

calls my attention to the play upon the name of Noah in Gen. 6<sup>61</sup> where twice the stem שָׂמַל is introduced.<sup>75</sup> This assonance becomes much more intelligible, if we assume also in this case a pronunciation like *nahaw*. The Greek form Νεβρωδ corresponding to שָׂמַל also becomes clearer if we suppose that the sound of the name approached *Neurod*.

## IX.

Lastly, a word as to the interpretation of the name. Setting aside the various efforts to explain the name as a contraction, and separating it into the two obvious elements *sh'mû* and *zî*; the second, of course, can only be the name of God, while the first with the old nominative ending is identical with שָׂמַל. To translate, however, as Gesenius and others propose, 'name of God' cannot be right; for, apart from other objections, what idea could such a name convey, and what motive could there be for calling a person 'name of God'? If, however, we turn to the Assyrian, a satisfactory interpretation can be found. The Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew שָׂמַל is *shumu*, which enters very frequently as an element into proper names; e.g. *Nabu-shum-ukin*, *Nabu-shum-iddin*, *Nabu-shum-ishkun*, *Marduk-shum-ibni*, *Bel-shum-uşur*, etc.<sup>76</sup> Now in Assyrian *shumu* signifies not only 'name' but also quite frequently 'offspring'; and is, indeed, put down in a syllabary<sup>77</sup> as one of the synonyms of *ablu* and *maru*, the common terms for 'son.' It is in this sense that the word *shumu* is to be taken in the proper names above instanced. The names accordingly are to be translated: 'Nabu has established an offspring,' 'Nabu has given an offspring,' 'Nabu has placed an offspring,' 'Marduk has produced an offspring,' 'O Bel, protect an offspring.' The very same names, and others compounded with different deities, are found with the second element *ablu* 'son' instead of *shumu*<sup>78</sup>; e.g. *Nabu-abal-iddin*, *Marduk-abal-iddin*, *Shamash-abal-uşur*, etc.; i.e. 'Nabu has given a son,' 'Marduk has given a son,' 'O Shamash, protect the son,' etc. Proper names of two elements occur also into which *shumu* enters; e.g. *Shum-iddin*, *Shum-ukin*, *Shum-uşur*, *Iddin-abal*,

<sup>75</sup> בִּי נִחַמְתִּי and יִנְחָם דָּוִד.

<sup>76</sup> See numerous examples in the indices to Strassmaier's *Babylonische Texte* and to Peiser's *Keilschriftliche Aktenstücke, Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums*, etc.

<sup>77</sup> V. R. 23, 29 d.

<sup>78</sup> Another synonym is *siru* 'seed,' which likewise appears compounded with the name of a deity and the verbs *ukin*, *iddin*, *uşur*, *lishir*, etc., respectively.

*Kin-abal*, etc. Such abbreviations, brought about through the omission of the name of a deity, are quite common; and again, the verb being also omitted, we finally get such names as *Shuma, Abba, Ziriu*.<sup>79</sup>

That the application of שם to 'offspring' was likewise in accord with Hebrew usage is shown by such a passage as Is. 14<sup>22</sup>, וְהָכַרְתִּי, לְכָכֵל שֵׁם וְשֵׁאֵר וְנִין וְנָכָד. The four terms שם, שֵׁאֵר, נִין, and נָכָד are practically synonyms, and the law of parallelism further produces the equations שם = נִין = 'offspring,' שֵׁאֵר = נָכָד = 'progeny.' Equally clear is the passage 2 Sam. 14<sup>7</sup>, where the wise woman of Tekoa appeals to David not to permit the killing of her only son without whom there would be no hope for her שֵׁם-לְאִשִּׁי שֵׁם, וְשֵׁאֵרִית, "to establish for my husband a name and progeny."<sup>80</sup> Here the 'name' can only be the 'offspring.' In Ezek. 34<sup>29</sup> we have another instance of the use of our word in the sense of offspring as shown by the context, וְהָקַמְתִּי לָהֶם מִשְׁפָּחָה לְשֵׁם.

From this application of the word such phrases as "to rub out the name" and "to wipe out the name," in the sense of complete annihilation,<sup>81</sup> become intelligible. By the 'name' the 'offspring' is primarily meant.<sup>82</sup> Without 'offspring' the memory of the individual, of the clan, and of the nation necessarily vanishes. With this usage vouched for, and with the Babylonian proper names as a model, we need have no hesitation in rendering שְׁמוּאֵל as 'Son of God.'<sup>83</sup> The name will thus be the correlative of אֲבִי אֱלֹהִים 'my father is God'; and in view of the importance that the doctrine of sonship to God has acquired in Christian theology, it is interesting and significant to find this doctrine current, even though in a crude form, at so early a period.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> *Ia* is not the suffix of the first person, but an emphatic affirmative.

<sup>80</sup> Kautzsch, *Die heilige Schrift* renders correctly "*Nachkommen*."

<sup>81</sup> E.g. Deut. 7<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> So also in the Aramaic inscriptions, cf. Cook, *Glossary of Aramaic Inscriptions*, p. 114.

<sup>83</sup> It is of course possible that the Hebrews had at one time names composed of three elements after the pattern of the Babylonian names above instanced. In that case שְׁמוּאֵל would represent a curtailment, the verb as the third element being omitted. That verb would naturally have been one conveying the idea of giving, or creating, or establishing; and the name would have signified 'El has given (or created, etc.) an offspring.' Still, so long as no evidence is forthcoming that the Hebrews formed proper names in this way, the conjecture cannot be seriously considered.

<sup>84</sup> According to Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 130, the name שְׁמוּאֵל would be paralleled in the name of a Babylonian ruler *Šumu-la-ilu*, who lived more than 1000 years before the Hebrew prophet; but his proposition has not met

with approval. Whether, however, Hommel, *Altisraelitische Überlieferung*, p. 98, is correct in explaining *shumu* as a contraction from *shum-hu* 'his name,' and in rendering, "Is Šhum-hu not god?" is even more doubtful. His theory that *shumu* is a substitute for the name of some deity is open to serious objections, but even granting this to be the case, *la* in *shumu-la-ilu* is more likely to be the emphatic *lamed* attached to nouns and verbs, which is found in Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic. *Shumulailu* would then be 'Shumu is indeed god.' In late Hebrew usage "The Name" is used for God, but it is hazardous, in default of any evidence, to carry back such a substitute to the pre-exilic period; and unless we do so, a name that signifies 'The name is indeed god' is as unintelligible as 'Is not his name god?' In view of such a name as *Shumma-ilu-la-iliá*, occurring on contract-tablets of the Hammurabi dynasty (see Hommel, *ib.*, p. 71), it is eminently likely that *shumu* in *shumu-la-ilu* is an entirely different word from the Hebrew שם. Besides *Shumu-la-ilu* we have a ruler *Shu-mu-a-bu-am*, the first king of the Babylonian dynasty. The subject is still further complicated by such variants as *Shumu-la-el* and *Shumu-ente-al* (*sic*!) (Pinches, *PSB.A.*, XXI., p. 161).

At all events the comparison with שמואל is exceedingly doubtful. On the other hand the name שמיאל as that of an Aramaean occurs in the late Babylonian contract tablets under the form *Sha-am-ili* (Strassmaier, *Darnistexte*, No. 265. 9; cf. Kohler and Peiser, *Studien zum Babyl. Rechtswesen*, IV., pp. 6 and 30; and it also appears on Palmyrene monuments; see de Vogue, *La Syrie Centrale*, No. 65. 2; Halévy, in *Revue Semitique*, II., p. 214; and cf. Derenbourg, *Géographie du Talmud*, I., pp. 22 and 224.



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## The Relations expressed by the Genitive in Hebrew.

PROF. F. B. DENIO, D.D.

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THE annexion of a noun in Hebrew is used to express any conceivable relation between the word in the construct state and the annexed noun. Although Hebrew prose does not warrant this statement, lyric passages and impassioned oratory justify one in saying that any sort of modification which occurs to a speaker or writer may be expressed by an annexed noun. The fact that not only nouns and adjectives, but participles and infinitives, take Genitives after them gives the writers somewhat more liberty; but the most remarkable expressions are made by the grouping of nouns alone.

The reader, therefore, is left to analyze the phrases composed of the construct state and the annexed noun, and to master their meaning. This is a much greater tax upon his power of discrimination than arises from the various uses of ך. It may be that we are sometimes more exacting of the original language than would have seemed justifiable to the author; but he surely meant something by his language, and it is not unreasonable for us to wish to know as nearly as possible what was in his thought.

The grammatical classification of Genitives seems dry to a student; and he is tempted to ask a teacher who seeks exact discrimination, "Why do you wish us to define these Genitives?" If we can master the relations of thought, we are increasing our power to comprehend a work of literature. The best exegetes often paraphrase the more difficult annexional phrases, thus indicating their conception of the relation of the annexed word; but they rarely define the relation.

It is true that the relations are so varied that a perfectly satisfactory classification of them is probably impossible. A tolerably effective working classification is the best that can be hoped. For some time past I have noted with interest the varied uses of the Genitive, and

in consequence have formulated an analysis of these uses which may be serviceable to others. I hope that it will provoke somebody with more leisure than I have to give the subject a complete investigation.

## I.

The relation of cause in a broad sense is expressed by annexion.

1. There is a **Genitive of Cause** in the strict sense: *e.g.* שֹׁכֵט אִפִּי (Isa. 10<sup>3</sup>), "rod (used) because of my anger"; חֹלֵת אֲהֵבָה (Cant. 2<sup>5</sup>), "sick because of love"; מֵתִי מִלְחָמָה (Isa. 22<sup>2</sup>), "dead because of war."

2. There is a **Genitive of Author**. The annexed noun designates the author or originator of that to which it is annexed: *e.g.* תּוֹרַת יְהוָה (Ex. 13<sup>10</sup>), "law of Yahwe," so often, not only with תּוֹרָה, but with דָּבָר, דֶּרֶךְ, עֲדוּת, מִשְׁפָּט, מִצְוָה, חֻקָּה, חֻקִּים. Ample illustration is found in Ps. 119; מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה (Prov. 1<sup>1</sup> 25<sup>1</sup>), "Proverbs of Solomon"; חֲרַפַּת אָדָם (Ps. 22<sup>7</sup>), "reproach of men."

3. The **Subjective Genitive** in a strict sense denotes the actor after a word denoting the action. *Cf.* אֲהֵבַת יְהוָה (1 Ki. 10<sup>9</sup>), "love shown by Yahwe"; קִנְאָת אֶפְרַיִם (Isa. 11<sup>13</sup>), "jealousy felt by Ephraim"; קָרְאִיָּה (Prov. 9<sup>18</sup>), "those who were invited by her."

4. The **Genitive of Instrument** denotes the instrument, the thing by which an act is accomplished. *Cf.* מִקְנֵת כֶּסֶף (Ex. 12<sup>44</sup>), "possession bought with silver"; חָלְלִי חֶרֶב (Isa. 22<sup>2</sup>), "slain with the sword"; לַחֲמֵי רֶשֶׁף (Dt. 32<sup>24</sup>), "consumed by pestilence."

5. The **Genitive of Source** designates the relation of internal source, birth, and the like. *Cf.* פְּרִי גִדְלִי (Isa. 10<sup>12</sup>), "fruit of arrogance"; יֶלֶד אִשָּׁה (Job 14<sup>1</sup>), "born of woman"; אִמְרֵי בִינָה (Prov. 1<sup>2</sup>), "words that proceed from intelligence."

6. **Genitive of Occasion**, or of the external source: *e.g.* אֱלֹהֵי הַנּוֹכַר (Jud. 10<sup>16</sup>), "gods derived from a foreign country"; זִמְרַת זָר (Isa. 17<sup>10</sup>), "vineslip come from a stranger"; לֶחֶם הַיַּעֲצָבִים (Ps. 127<sup>2</sup>), "bread derived from painful toil."

7. A relation akin to source is indicated in the **Genitive of Separation**, a bold annexion of a noun to the construct state of some participles: *e.g.* יֹצְאֵי שַׁעַר עִירוֹ (Gen. 34<sup>24</sup>), "those who come forth from the gate of his city"; יֹצְאֵי יָרֵכִי (Gen. 46<sup>30</sup>), "those who came forth from his loins"; שֹׁבֵי פֶשַׁע (Isa. 59<sup>31</sup>), "those who turn from transgression"; שׁוֹבֵי מִלְחָמָה (Mic. 2<sup>8</sup>), "averse from war."

## II.

The relation of possession or ownership is sometimes assigned to the Genitive Subjective, but there is a noteworthy difference. Although the possessor often is active in gaining possession, many illustrations of the **Genitive Possessive** exclude all reference to the active acquirement of the thing possessed.

1. The Genitive Possessive may denote strict ownership of objects inseparably attached to the owner : thus, **לב מלך** (Prov. 21<sup>1</sup>), "heart of a king" ; so also any part of the body, as **יד**, **עין**, and the like ; likewise **נפש** and **רוח** followed by noun or pronoun designating the person ; similarly **שם יהוה** (1 Sam. 17<sup>45</sup>), "name of Yahwe."

2. The Genitive of Possession denotes the ownership of objects which are not inseparable from the owner : *e.g.* **פסיליהם** (Isa. 10<sup>10</sup>), "their images" ; **חיל העמים** (Isa. 10<sup>14</sup>), "treasures belonging to the peoples" ; **ארץ חיים** (Isa. 53<sup>8</sup> Jer. 11<sup>19</sup> Ps. 27<sup>13</sup>), "land of the living," contrasted with **שואל**, the land of the dead ; so often a Genitive after **ארץ**, **עיר**, **בקר**, **צאן**, *et sim.*

3. The Genitive of Possession is used with qualities not inseparably attached to the owner : *e.g.* **כח ידי** (Isa. 10<sup>13</sup>), "might of my hand" ; **חכמתי** (Isa. 10<sup>13</sup>), "my wisdom" ; **בתמו** (Prov. 19<sup>1</sup>), "in his integrity" ; **בישרו** (Prov. 14<sup>2</sup>), "in his uprightness."

4. This relation may also imply advantage to the possessor. **אור ישראל** (Isa. 10<sup>17</sup>), "light of Israel" ; **חוקי** (Ps. 18<sup>2</sup>), "my strength." Note also several designations of God in the following verse.

5. The idea of possession is sometimes accompanied with that of peculiar and affectionate relationship.

The relationship may be natural : *e.g.* **אחיך** (Dt. 13<sup>7</sup> *et al.*), "thy brother" ; **אמך** (Dt. 13<sup>7</sup> *et al.*), "thy mother" ; **אבותך** (Dt. 13<sup>7</sup>), "thy fathers."

The relationship may be personal : *e.g.* **רעך** (Dt. 13<sup>7</sup>), "thy neighbor" ; **בני** (Prov. 1<sup>8</sup>), "my son" ; **משיחו** (Ps. 18<sup>51</sup>), "his anointed" ; **לידדו** (Ps. 127<sup>3</sup>), "his beloved."

The relationship may be social : *e.g.* **אביוןך** (Dt. 15<sup>11</sup>), "thy poor" ; **עניך** (Dt. 15<sup>11</sup>), "thy afflicted ones."

## III.

There is a relation between the annexed noun and that in the construct state, which has some likeness to that given above in II. 5,

and differs in the fact that there is no suggestion of ownership. In default of any better term it may be called the **Genitive of Relation**.

1. The relation is necessary. The existence of the annexed noun is necessary to constitute the construct state what it is: *e.g.* **א"י הים** (Isa. 11<sup>11</sup>), "isles (coast lands) of the sea"; **משנה המלך** (2 Ch. 28<sup>7</sup>), "subordinate of the king"; **משנהו** (1 Sam. 17<sup>13</sup>), "his second" (younger brother).

2. The annexed noun as **Genitive of Reference** indicates the scope in which the construct state is to be regarded: *e.g.* **שכר שכיר** (Dt. 15<sup>18</sup>), "wages proper to a hireling"; **גדל לבב** (Isa. 10<sup>12</sup>), "arrogance of heart"; **שמן ששון** (Ps. 45<sup>8</sup> Isa. 61<sup>3</sup>), "oil proper to a festival."

3. The annexed noun may be a **Genitive of the Sphere** in which the governing noun exists or acts: *e.g.* **בעל החלמות** (Gen. 37<sup>19</sup>), "master in dreams"; **חרש ברזל** (Isa. 44<sup>12</sup>), "workman in iron"; **מלך ישראל** (Prov. 1<sup>1</sup>), "king of Israel."

4. The **Genitive of Definition** designates one out of many similar objects: *e.g.* **שנת השמטה** (Dt. 15<sup>9</sup>), "year of release"; **ים מצרים** (Isa. 11<sup>15</sup>), "sea of Egypt."

5. The **Genitive of Specification** designates the point in which the construct state holds good. This is used freely with adjectives, and in great variety of detail, giving richness of expression. *Cf.* **נקי כפים** (Ps. 24<sup>4</sup>), "clean as regards hands"; **נכה רגלים** (2 Sam. 9<sup>3</sup>), "smitten in feet"; **מרי נפש** (Job 3<sup>20</sup>), "bitterness in soul"; **ידועי חלי** (Isa. 53<sup>3</sup>), "experienced in sickness"; **נשוא פשעי** (Ps. 32<sup>1</sup>), "forgiven in respect of transgression"; **ארך אפים** (Ex. 34<sup>6</sup> Nah. 1<sup>3</sup>), "long in respect of wrath."

#### IV.

The annexed noun may stand in a recipient relation to the construct state. The variety of this relation affords great wealth of expression.

1. Annexed to a noun of action we have the **Genitive Objective** in the strict sense. This is very common: *e.g.* **יראת יהוה** (Prov. 1<sup>7</sup>), "fear of Yahwe"; **ישועות יעקב** (Ps. 44<sup>5</sup>), "complete deliverance of Jacob"; **זבחי אדם** (Hos. 13<sup>2</sup>), "sacrificers of men"; **מפלטי** (Ps. 18<sup>40</sup>), "my deliverer"; **מפלשי נב** (Job 37<sup>16</sup>), "poisings of clouds."

2. The annexed noun is an indirect object, sometimes corresponding to a Greek Dative used as indirect object, sometimes standing where a noun depending upon **ב**, **ל**, or **על** might have been expected.

*Cf.* נתיבות ביתו (Job 38<sup>20</sup>), "paths to his house"; דרכה (Job 28<sup>23</sup>), "way to it"; מהוללי (Ps. 102<sup>1</sup>), "those mad against me"; באי שער עירו (Gen. 23<sup>10, 18</sup>), "those who enter the gate of his city"; יורדי בור (Isa. 38<sup>18</sup>), "those who go down to the pit (grave)"; ורם קיר (Ex. 15<sup>7</sup>), "they that rise up against thee"; סער מים (Isa. 25<sup>4</sup>), "storm against a wall"; ישבי מרים (Isa. 26<sup>6</sup>), "they that dwell on high"; שכבי קבר (Ps. 88<sup>6</sup>), "they that lie in the grave"; והלי עפר (Dt. 32<sup>24</sup>), "they that crawl in the dust"; אכלי שלחן (1 Ki. 2<sup>7</sup>), "they that eat at thy table"; באי השבת (or יצאי) (2 Ki. 11<sup>8, 7, 9</sup>), "those that enter (go out) on the Sabbath"; הלכי הם (Prov. 2<sup>7</sup>), "those who walk in integrity."

3. The annexed noun designates an object which receives benefit, a **Genitive of Advantage**. *Cf.* אשרי האיש (Ps. 1<sup>1</sup> *et al.*), "happiness of (for) the man"; מטר ורעך (Isa. 30<sup>20</sup>), "rain for thy seed"; אור נים (Isa. 42<sup>6</sup> 49<sup>6</sup>), "light for [the] nations"; ברית עם (Isa. 42<sup>6</sup> 49<sup>6</sup>), "covenant for (*i.e.* with) a people"; thus ברית followed by a Genitive (Dt. 4<sup>11</sup> Ezek. 16<sup>61</sup> Mal. 2<sup>8, 10</sup> Ps. 89<sup>40</sup> Neh. 13<sup>20</sup>); קנאת עם (Isa. 26<sup>11</sup>), "jealousy for a people."

4. **Genitive of Destination**: צאן מאכל (Ps. 44<sup>12</sup>), "sheep for food"; צאן טבחיה (Ps. 44<sup>23</sup>), "sheep for slaughter"; צאן ההרגה (Zech. 11<sup>4</sup>), "sheep for slaughter."

5. The annexed noun denotes that toward which the construct state is directed as its natural or proper **outcome**. עון קץ (Ezek. 35<sup>5</sup>), "iniquity which brings an end"; עץ החיים (Gen. 3<sup>22</sup>), "tree which secures life"; מוסר חכמה (Prov. 15<sup>33</sup>), "discipline which tends to wisdom"; מוסר שלומנו (Isa. 53<sup>1</sup>), "chastisement securing our peace"; מגן ישעך (Ps. 18<sup>36</sup>), "shield securing my deliverance."

6. Closely akin to the last is the **Genitive indicating the object which it is the nature of a person to secure**. *Cf.* אלהי ישי (Ps. 18<sup>7</sup> *et al.*), "God who secures my deliverance"; quite often after the name of God, *cf.* ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀπολύσεως (Phil. 4<sup>9</sup>) and similar expressions in the New Testament; אלהי חסדי (Ps. 59<sup>11</sup>), "God who shows goodness to me"; אל חיי (Ps. 42<sup>9</sup>), "God who gives me life"; אלהי צדקתי (Ps. 4<sup>2</sup>), "God who is the source of my righteousness," *cf.* Hupfeld *in loc.*; עד חמס (Dt. 19<sup>16</sup> Ps. 35<sup>11</sup>), "witness accomplishing violence."

## V.

As the language had not developed the general use of adjectives, the various qualities were largely expressed by nouns in annexion. The **Genitive Attributive** expresses:

1. A simple quality. Cf. אִישׁ בִּיחִים (Prov. 26<sup>2</sup>), "a contentious man"; אִדְּתָה קָדָשׁ (Gen. 17<sup>1</sup>), "an everlasting possession"; קָדָשׁ (Ex. 28<sup>2</sup>), "holy garments."
2. The attribute involves a relation somewhat complex. רִמָּה מִכְמֶר (Isa. 51<sup>2</sup>), "antelope captured by means of a net," or, "a netted antelope"; קָם דָּרִישׁ (Isa. 34<sup>1</sup>), "people cursed by me," or, "people under my curse"; אֲנִשׁ שְׁלֵמָה (Ob.<sup>7</sup>, cf. Jer. 20<sup>3</sup> 38<sup>2</sup> Ps. 41<sup>10</sup>), "thy confederates," "men at peace with thee."
3. The Genitive of Characteristic expresses some feature or event which specially marks the noun in the construct state. Cf. אִישׁ רָשָׁע (Ps. 5<sup>7</sup>), "man noted for bloody deeds"; נָיִא וְעֵין (Isa. 22<sup>1</sup>), "valley distinguished by visions"; עֵץ פֵּר (Gen. 1<sup>11</sup>), "tree distinguished by fruit."
4. Genitive of Material: כֶּלִי עֵץ (Lev. 11<sup>2</sup>), "wooden vessels," כֶּלִי זָהָב (Ex. 12<sup>2</sup>), "jewels of gold"; קֶדֶר הַקָּדָשׁ (Cant. 4<sup>1</sup>), "flock of goats."
5. Genitive of Measure: מִדְּלֶךְ שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים (Jon. 3<sup>3</sup>), "three days' journey"; לֶחֶם יְמִים (Ex. 16<sup>2</sup>), "two days' food."
6. The metaphorical phrases noted above under I. 5, in which בַּת and בֵּן are used, really convey an idea which belongs to the Genitive Attributive: e.g. בֵּן הַכּוֹת (Dt. 25<sup>2</sup>), "worthy to be beaten"; בֵּן מוֹת (1 Sam. 26<sup>14</sup>), "worthy of death"; בְּנֵי מִרִי (Nu. 17<sup>2</sup>), "rebels."

## VI.

The annexed noun may denote the same thing as the construct, and is equivalent to an Appositive. The Genitive of Apposition may denote:

1. The name. נָהָר פָּרַת (Gen. 15<sup>18</sup>), "the river Euphrates"; בַּת צִיּוֹן (Isa. 10<sup>2</sup>), "the daughter of Zion"; גִּבְעַת יְרוּשָׁלַם (Isa. 10<sup>2</sup>), "hill of Jerusalem."
2. A person or thing is annexed to his attribute: e.g. פֶּרָא אִדָּם (Gen. 16<sup>12</sup>), "wild ass of a man"; רֹבֵץ הַחֶבֶל (Jon. 1<sup>6</sup>), "chief pilot"; פֶּלֶא יוֹבֵק (Isa. 9<sup>3</sup>), "wonder of a counsellor."
3. The whole is put in apposition to its parts: e.g. סֻכְכֵי הַיָּעַר (Isa. 9<sup>17</sup> 10<sup>34</sup>), "thickets of the forest"; יָמֵי חַיִּיד (Dt. 16<sup>3</sup>), "days of thy life."

## VII.

The Genitive Partitive designates:

1. The whole of which a part is taken: e.g. אַחַת כְּרִיד (Dt. 13<sup>18</sup>),

"one of thy cities," so often after a numeral ; שאר ישראל (Isa. 10<sup>30</sup>), "remnant of Israel" ; לשון ים (Isa. 11<sup>15</sup>), "tongue of the sea" ; ראשית חכמה (Mic. 5<sup>4</sup>), "the anointed among men" ; נסיכי אדם (Ps. 111<sup>10</sup>), "the chief part of wisdom."

2. The superlative degree is often expressed by the Genitive Partitive. אביוני אדם (Isa. 29<sup>10</sup>), "the poorest of men" ; טובם (Mic. 7<sup>1</sup>), "the best of them."

3. The Partitive Genitive is used of place. כתף פלשתים (Isa. 11<sup>14</sup>), "shoulder (side) of the Philistines" (open to invasion) ; קצה הארץ (Dt. 13<sup>3</sup>), "end of the earth" ; רחבה (Dt. 13<sup>17</sup>), "its broad place."

### VIII.

There are very many combinations of two or more Genitives in a series which seem at times to be complex and not at once to be analyzed. A very common type is הר מרום ישראל (Ezek. 17<sup>23</sup>), "Israel's high mountain," in which the Genitive belongs to the phrase, as the pronominal suffix does in ברית שלומי (Isa. 54<sup>10</sup>), "my covenant securing peace," and הר קדשי (Psa. 2<sup>6</sup>), "my holy mountain."

Another grouping is seen in נהרי נחלי דבש (Job 20<sup>17</sup>), "streams of brooks of honey," and מבצר משגב חומתיך (Isa. 25<sup>12</sup>), "fortification of height of thy walls." In the former a Genitive of Apposition is followed by a Genitive of Material which modifies the whole phrase. In the latter a Genitive Attributive is followed by a Genitive of Material which qualifies the whole phrase.

## Some Notes on the Verse-Division of the New Testament.

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THE first New Testament that is known to contain the modern system of verses is the edition of Robert Stephen of 1551, printed, as is supposed, at Geneva. The volume (or pair of volumes, for it is sometimes divided) is a collector's rarity, on account of the peculiar position which it occupies in the history of the printed text of the New Testament. Copies are sometimes found dated MDXLI. instead of MDLI.; the one in my possession actually has the X erased in the middle of the date.

Photograph 1 is a representation of its title-page. From this we are advised that the book contains the New Testament (in Greek) with two translations, one being that of Erasmus, and the other from the Vulgate. There is also a *Harmonia Evangelica* (wanting in my copy) and a copious index, the latter being taken from some early printed Latin Bible. When we turn to the text, we find that the Greek stands between the Vulgate and the Erasmic renderings, marked at the top of the pages by V. and E. respectively, the arrangement being such that the Vulgate has always the inner place, the Erasmic the outer; and between the Greek and the Erasmic stand the verse-numerations in a column by themselves. Stephen has printed the Vulgate in a smaller type<sup>1</sup> than that of the Erasmic, and it is evident that it was looked upon with less liking. He says, however, in the preface to the reader that he did not think the old version (*i.e.* the Vulgate) was to be contemned; first, because in many places it seemed to be the equivalent of a very early Greek exemplar; second, because it was so rooted in the memory of men, that it could hardly be plucked up; and third, because by a comparison of the versions

<sup>1</sup> A peculiarity which appears already in the 4th Erasmus edition of 1527, where the order is Gk. — Erasm. — Vulg., and the Vulg. is in smaller type. It appears in the same form in the 6th Erasmus of 1541.

ΑΓΙΑ ΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΝΗΣ  
*διαθήκης.*

Nouum IESV Christi D. N.  
Testamentum.

Cum duplici interpretatione, D. Erasmi, & Vete-  
ris interpretis: Harmonia item Euangelica, &  
copioso Indice.



Ex officina Roberti Stephani

M. D. LI.



with the text, a moderate Greek scholar could readily catch the force of the Greek words. It seems rather strange to us that a strife for existence should have raged between the Vulgate and the Erasmic translation, and that the latter should almost have killed off the former; yet something like this was the case, and when the Erasmic translation ceased to find favor, it yielded the field not to the Vulgate, but to a successor, apparently sprung from its own loins, the version of Theodore Beza. Although this version also has well nigh passed into oblivion, it was, until quite recently, the chosen Latin text of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which did not venture to print the Vulgate, from a fear of the resuscitation of ancient strifes that have been associated with certain of its renderings.<sup>2</sup>

Now with regard to the Greek text we do not need to say much; it is taken, with slight modifications, from the famous royal edition of the previous year 1550.<sup>3</sup> The marginal references have also been taken over from some previous Latin text, but with this modification, that whereas in the earlier editions, the references were made to the chapters and *letters* (under which the chapters were subdivided), the references in the edition of 1551 are by chapters, letters, and *verses*. So that if on the margin of Matt. i. in 1550 we find

Λουκ. γ. Ε	we shall find on the	Luc. 3. e. 24
Γεν. κβ. Δ	margin of 1551, not	Gene. 22. a. 1
καὶ κε Δ	necessarily taken	Gene. 25. d. 24
Γεν. κθ. Δ	from St. <sup>1550</sup> , but	Gen. 29. d. 35
καὶ λη. Η	either from that or	Gen. 38. g. 27
etc.	some early Latin	etc.
	text,	

We must pay some attention to these, because they may assist us in identifying editions which are based upon the Stephen of 1551, or in finding the Latin copy from which the Stephen of 1551 was set up. It should also be noticed that the 1551 edition contains references to an Evangelical Harmony, concerning which something needs to be said; and also that it contains a few references, where some other passage of the special book is quoted, under the form *infra* and *supra*, where the 1550 edition says only κεφ. For instance, we find over against

Matt. 7<sup>1</sup> the reference Har. i. 34: and over against

Acts 7<sup>68</sup> the words *Infra* 17. f. 24 where ed. 1550 has only κεφ. ιζ. Ζ.,

which means that a similar sentiment will be found in Acts 17<sup>24</sup>.

A comparison with early printed Latin Bibles, such as the Stephen

<sup>2</sup> Such, for example, as "*agite poenitentiam*" and "*ipsa conteret caput tuum.*"

<sup>3</sup> As Mr. Hoskier points out, it follows the 1550 edition in peculiar blunders.

of 1528, shows that these *infra* and *supra* notes come from the margins of a Latin Bible. Returning now to the leading peculiarity of this edition, *viz.* the verse-numbering, we find that there has been a good deal of discussion as to its origin. The best treatment of the subject is the tract of Ezra Abbot which is incorporated with Gregory's Prolegomena to Tischendorf (pp. 167-182). From it we learn that Tischendorf and Reuss found the origin of the Stephanic verses in a Latin Vulgate published by Stephen in 1548, but that De Wette and Keil correct this to 1558, which rules out the idea of the priority of the Latin. As, however, there was no Stephen Vulgate published in 1548, and, as we shall see presently, the numeration of the verses is found in earlier Latin texts than 1558, we may set these statements aside. Others have suggested that the Latin division occurs in the Stephen Vulgate of 1545, or in that of 1557. We shall see whether there is anything to be said in support of these suggestions.

It has been noted by Abbot that in Acts 24 there is a double numeration of the verses, as follows (p. 447 *verso*) :<sup>4</sup>

Erasmus.	<sup>19</sup> <sub>20</sub>	Τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Α-	Vulgate.
		σίας 'Ιουδαῖοι, οὗς δεῖ ἐπὶ	

The obvious explanation of this is that a verse has been lost, nor is it difficult to find the missing verse, which is actually extant, with the right numbering, in the Sixtine Vulgate of 1590, though it is omitted in the Clementine Vulgate of 1592. It reads thus : *et apprehenderunt me clamantes et dicentes : Tolle inimicum nostrum*. The fact that the passage is in the Sixtine Vulgate would be a sufficient intimation of its currency in earlier printed Vulgates, and as a matter of fact, it will be found in the Stephen Vulgate of 1545 and 1555, to say nothing of other editions. Here, then, we find that a famous early Western reading in the Acts has deranged the verse-numeration. The suggestion is obvious, that the verses must have been marked upon an early copy of the Vulgate, before they came to be marked in the 1551 Stephen. The Greek is excluded as a first-marked copy, because the gloss or reading is not extant in Greek, and the Erasmus translation is also excluded, on the ground that it follows the Greek.

For confirmation of this theory, we pass on to Professor Nestle's

<sup>4</sup> See plate 2.

credens omnibus  
quæ in Lege &  
prophetis scripta  
sunt,

spem habet in  
Deum, fore quâ  
et ipsi expediat  
resurrectionem  
mortuorum, in-  
sternam simul &  
infuſorum.

Quia in hoc &  
ipse audio sine  
offensu con-  
scientiam habere  
erga Deum, & er-  
ga homines sem-  
per.

Post annos au-  
tem plures acces-  
si | eleemosynas  
exhibebaturus in-  
genitricem meam, & ob-  
lationes:

In quibus cõpe-  
rasti me purissi-  
mum in templo,  
haud cum turba,  
neq; cum tumultu.

Quid autem ex A-  
ſia Iudei, quos o-  
rtebat apud te  
præſto eſſe, & ac-  
cuſare, ſiquid habe-  
rent aduerſum me?

Aut hi ipſi di-  
cunt, ſiquid depre-  
henderant in me

πίστεων πάντας κατὰ τὸ  
νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας  
ὑποταγμένους,

ἐλπὶδα ἔχον εἰς τὸν  
Θεόν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ πε-  
ροσθίσονται, ὡς ἀπο-  
μένοντες ἐπὶ τῇ νεκρώσει,  
δικάζοντες ὅτι ἀδίκουσι.

Ἐν τούτῳ ὅτι τοῖς ἀ-  
κούσας, ἀπεροσώπηται οὐκ ἐ-  
δύσθη ἔχοντες τὸν Θεόν  
καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δια-  
κρινόντες.

Δι' ἐπὶ τῶν δὲ πλείονων  
πρεβυτέρων ἐλημυσ-  
σας περὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸς  
μου, καὶ προσεφώνησεν·

Ὅτι εἰς εὐροὺς με ὁρ-  
μίσαντες οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν, οὐ μὲν  
ὄχλον, οὐδ' ἐμὲ θορύβου.

Τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀ-  
σίας Ἰουδαίους, οὓς δὲ ὁ πῶν  
σοὺ παρεῖναι, & κατα-  
ρεῖν, ὅτι ἔχοντες περὶ με·

Ἡ αὐτοῖς οὐτως ἐπι-  
τάσσας ὅτι εὐροὺς οἱ ἐμοὶ

vero, credens  
omnib' quæ  
in Lege &  
Prophetis  
scripta sunt,

spem ha-  
bent in Deo,  
quod & hi ipſi  
expediât, re-  
surrectionem  
futuram in-  
ſternâ & in-  
fuſorum.

In hoc &  
ipse audio  
sine offensi-  
u conscientiam  
habere  
erga Deum, &  
erga homines  
semper.

Post an-  
nos autem plu-  
res, eleemo-  
synas facien-  
tes in genitricem  
meam, &  
oblationes.

In quibus  
invenisti me  
purissimum  
in templo,  
non cum turba,  
neque cum  
tumultu.

Quid autem  
ex Asia Iu-  
dei, quos or-  
tebat apud te  
præſto eſſe, & ac-  
cuſare, ſiquid  
haberent ad-  
verſum me?  
Aut hi ipſi  
dicunt, ſiquid  
prehenderant





V.	V.	ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛ.	E.	445
<p>et si in- stet illi de illo.</p> <p>Qua vero credideris il- lis iudicium sue animi et ex eis videri amplius quā quadragesima, qui se deum verum non manducare neque bibere sunt, donec in- terficiantur: et vides pa- rentes suos, ex- probrantes p- missum tuū.</p> <p>Ti hunc scire dicitur adolefcentem, praeter illius percul- susque et nonis hunc sua dicitur scire.</p> <p>Si conuo- catis duobus persecutioni- bus dicit il- li. Facite mi- sera ducen- tes. vi raris que Ceteris, et equi- ta. scriptura, et in actis dicitur, et in hanc po- sit.</p> <p>Et iudicium praeter-</p>	<p>is, ut impo- nentes Pau- lum, eum sal- uū perducere ad felices praedictum, scribes epi- stolam con- doscant hęc. Claudius Ly- das opulento praefidi soli- dā salutem.</p> <p>Virū hunc comprehensum a Iu- daeis, et in- civem in- terfecti adels, superueniens cum exercitu, eripuit. cog- nito quia Romanus esset.</p> <p>Volensque scire causam quam obli- gabant illi, deduxi eum in tribunal eorum.</p> <p>Quem non accusa- ri de qua- sitionibus Le- gis propterea, propter quod di- gnum morte erat, aut vinctum habeat crimen.</p> <p>Et quoniam mihi peria-</p>	<p>ἵνα ὁπρὶς ἁπαντες τῶν Παύλου διασωσῶσι πρὸς Φίλικα τὸν ἡγεμόνα, Γράψας ὁπισθὲν π- εἶχουσιν τὸν τύπον τοῦ τῶν Κλαύδιος Λυσίας τοῦ κρατίως ἡγεμόνι Φίλικῳ χαίρειν.</p> <p>Τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον συλ- ληφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ιου- δαίων, καὶ μέλλοντα ἀπα- ρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, ὅπ- τις σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ μα- κεδόνῳ αὐτὸν, μαθὼν ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστι.</p> <p>Βουλόμενος δὲ γινῶσθαι τίω αἰτίας δι' ἧς ἐνέκα- λουμαι αὐτῷ, κατήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σινέδριον αὐτῶν.</p> <p>Ὁν εὖρον ἔχοντά μου πρὸς ζητήματι τοῦ νό- μου αὐτῶν, μηδὲν δὲ ἀ- ξίον θανάτου ἢ δεσμῶν ἔχοντα.</p> <p>Μίμνησκεις δὲ μοι</p>	<p>te, ut impo- nentes Paulum, saluū perducant ad Fe- licem praedictum.</p> <p>Scriptis literis in hac formam: Claudius Lydas potentissimo praefidi felici salutē.</p> <p>Virū hunc eam prehensum a Iu- daeis, quum tam esset interficien- dos ab eis, super- ueniens cum ex- ercitu, eripuit, co- gnito quod Romanus esset.</p> <p>Volensque scire causā ob quā accusares illum, deduxi illum in cōcilium eorum.</p> <p>Quem compe- ri accusari de qua- sitionibus Legis i- psum, nullū di- gnum morte aut vinculis habentē crimen.</p> <p>Et quū indicab-</p>	

recent discovery that there is another case of such double numeration in the preceding chapter (Acts 23<sup>25/26</sup>, p. 445 *recto*) as follows:

Vulgate.	Γράψας ἐπιστολὴν πε- <sup>25</sup> ρίχουσιν τὸν τύπον τοῦ- <sup>26</sup> τον· Κλαύδιος Λυσίας τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι Φήλικι χαίρειν.	Erasmus.
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Here again there has been the loss of a Latin verse, *viz.* "*Timuit enim ne forte raperent eum Judaei, et occiderent, et ipse postea calumniam sustineret, tanquam accepturus pecuniam.*" This is clearly the missing v.<sup>25</sup>; it is actually extant as the v.<sup>26</sup> in the Clementine Vulgate of 1592 (and in the Sixtine of 1590?); moreover, the Antwerp Polyglot of 1571 expressly says, in printing this verse from the Latin with no counterpart in Greek or Syriac, "*deest 25 versus.*" It appears also in the Vulgate of 1566 as v.<sup>25</sup>, and, no doubt, in many similar places. We have, then, found two cases where the verse-numeration of St.<sup>1551</sup> has been deranged through the use of a previous verse-divided Vulgate text containing glosses.<sup>5</sup> Stephen does not print the glosses, but he preserves their verse-numeration.

We shall now be in a better position to determine the origin of the verses, for we are limited to the Latin Vulgate, and either a printed edition has been taken and marked for office copy, or else an edition of the Latin Vulgate has actually been issued before 1551 with the Stephanic enumeration. Now against the second of these suppositions, there are a number of adverse considerations: in the first place, the probability is that such an edition, if it ever existed, would be one of Stephen's own; and perhaps this would lend some color to Tischendorf's statement that the verses first appeared in the Stephen Vulgate of 1548. There is, however, no such Stephen edition. There is, indeed, a Lyons Vulgate of 1548, but it has no enumeration; although, as might have been expected, the glosses to which we have referred are in its text. There is no trace that I know of in the Lyons Bibles of the time of the existence of such verses: the Lyons Vulgate of 1553 has the glosses, but not the numbers; the Lyons French text of 1551 is equally destitute of enumeration; so are the Lyons French of 1556, and the Lyons Italian of 1551. These considerations make powerfully against the belief that the Lyons

<sup>5</sup> These glosses are found in the Vulgate columns of the 4th edition of Erasmus of 1527 and in the 6th edition of 1541.

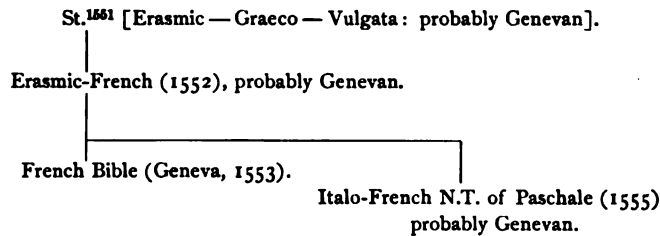
Vulgate of 1548 is the *fons et origo versuum Stephanicorum*. Nor has any other Vulgate text been found, printed before 1551, which contains the verses. For example, the Paris Vulgate of 1549 has no verse divisions nor enumeration, though it has the glosses, which are obelized: neither are there any divisions or numeration in the Paris Vulgate of 1552. Until some copy is produced of a printed Vulgate with verse-numeration earlier than 1551, we must fall back upon our other alternative supposition, *vis.* that a Vulgate has been taken and marked as a printer's copy to be used in setting up the edition of 1551. We will see whether anything can be done in the way of identifying this copy.

First of all, let us try to find out something about the printed Greek Testaments and translations which derive their arrangement from Stephen of 1551.

I have before me the French-Italian edition of the blessed martyr<sup>6</sup> Giovanni Luigi Paschale, published in 1555, and, as is supposed, at Geneva. It has the verses numbered, and is evidently based on St.<sup>1551</sup>. He expressly says in his preface that he has taken over the Stephanic verses: "*Habbiam poi voluto aiutar la memoria di quelli che volentieri s' esercitano in questa santa lettione, si per poter piu facilmente riscontrare insieme passo per passo l' una e l' altra traduzione, stamparle cosi distinte per versati, secondo il compartimento di Roberto Stefano.*" The language is based upon Stephen's own preface. Moreover, he takes to his own margin all the matter in the Stephen margin, with the exception of the references to the Harmony; and uses *Disopra* and *Disotto* to translate the *Infra* and *Supra*, which we have seen above to be a feature, though not a peculiar feature, of the Stephen of 1551. Thus in Matt. 3<sup>7</sup> the marginal note of Paschale, Disot. 23. a. 34, is meant for *Infra*, 23. d. 34, of Stephen, unless it can be shown to come from some previous Latin text. Now this Franco-Italian New Testament appears to have an intermediate link with St.<sup>1551</sup>, for Paschale is not responsible for the French. He found that, as I suppose, in the French Stephen of 1552, which also had the numbered verses, and had in all probability (for I have not seen it) corrected the wrong versing of the two glosses in the Acts in the same way as Paschale corrects it, by pushing the verses forward until the end of the chapter. Now this French Stephen, which we assume to lie between St.<sup>1551</sup> and the Italian French Stephen of 1555, is in reality a double text; it is

<sup>6</sup> Burnt in Rome in 1560.

French-Erasmic. Apparently, then, it is a bilingual text arrived at by taking the Stephen of 1551, discarding the Vulgate, and translating either the Erasmic or the Greek. The French text in Paschale's New Testament follows Erasmus so closely as to print in a smaller character the small-type expansions of the Erasmic text. This copy is followed, no doubt, by the French Genevese Bible of 1553. All these copies are, in fact, to be referred to Geneva. The system of verses is, then, Genevan in origin, appearing first in what we may call the trilingual of 1551, and from thence passing to the other editions, as follows :



To Geneva, also, must be referred the first English New Testament in verses, *viz.* the Whittingham of 1557. While, then, there is no evidence for a number of years of the printing of verse-divided Bibles and Testaments elsewhere than at Geneva, there is abundant suggestion that at Geneva verse-divided texts had become the fashion. And a number of such printed texts are seen to be directly derived from the Stephen of 1551.

It follows from the foregoing that in examining for Latin Vulgates divided into verses, and making a study of their genealogy, we must be careful in every case to eliminate such as may be derived directly from the Latin columns of St.<sup>1551</sup>.

For example, suppose we take the famous Stephen Latin New Testament of 1556/7, which is also the first Bezan text. The text of this volume is double, the place of honor and the preëminence of large type being given to Beza's own *Nova Tralatio*, while the Vulgate is on the margin in smaller letters just as in the Stephen of 1551. This text is derived from St.<sup>1551</sup> by removing the Greek and revising the Erasmic. Look for example at the first page of Matthew, where the margin shows

1 Para. 2. a. 5  
ruth 4. 6. 18.

and the Bezan edition has even followed the printing of *ruth* with a small 'r.'<sup>7</sup> Then look at the spelling of Ozias in v.<sup>8</sup>, where Beza follows Erasmus in spelling Hozias. Evidently the Vulgate-Beza text is derived from St.<sup>1551</sup> by omitting the Greek, and reforming the Erasmic. Notice, again, how persistent is the contempt for the Vulgate.

The verse-division is in this Stephen-Beza of 1556/57, but it can only be referred to the St.<sup>1551</sup> and not to any previously existing Latin Bible. And this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that it has the traces of the glosses to which we have been referring, in the shape of the double numeration which characterizes St.<sup>1551</sup>.<sup>8</sup>

Coming now to a slightly earlier date, we find two volumes that must be carefully examined; *viz.* the Stephen Vulgate of 1555, and a Stephen commentary on the Gospels of 1553. Of these the former is said by Abbot to be the first Latin Bible divided into verses. It is, like the other volumes which we have been discussing, a Geneva edition.<sup>9</sup> What is remarkable about it is that the text is *not* broken up into verses; at the same time it has the verse-numeration inserted in the body of the text. The first fact shows that it is not likely to have been set up from the Latin column of 1551; the second fact may be used to prove that its verse-numeration was taken from St.<sup>1551</sup> directly. For look at the glosses from which our argument proceeds; they are in the text, though wanting in Stephen, but they are numbered as follows:

Acts 23 . . . . . ¶ 25 et 26 Ti-  
muit enim ne forte raperent cum Judaci  
et occiderent etc.

Acts 24 . . . . . ¶ 19 et 20 Et  
apprehenderunt me, clamantes et dicentes,  
Tolle inimicum nostrum Quidam autem ex  
etc.

<sup>7</sup> I find this small 'r' in the Lyons Vulgate of 1548: *eg.* 1 par. 2. b ruth. 4. d.

<sup>8</sup> Beza has a note on Acts 24<sup>19</sup> which betrays his knowledge of the lost gloss, as follows:

"*Neque cum tumultu, μήτε μετὰ θορύβου. In nonnullis exemplaribus Vulgatae editionis subjiciuntur ista quae in nullis Graecis codicibus invenimus, Et apprehenderunt me, clamantes et dicentes, tolle inimicum nostrum, καὶ ἐκράτησάν με κρείσσορες, καὶ λέγοντες, αἶρε τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡμῶν.*"

<sup>9</sup> It has no mark of place, but on the title-page "*Oliva Roberti Stephani, M.D.LV.;*" what might seem, at first sight, to make against Geneva is the colophon, which shows that it was not directly or wholly Stephanic: "*excudebat Roberto Stephano Conradus Badius, anno M.D.LV. viii. idus aprilis.*"









These verses cannot have been taken from a verse-numbered Vulgate, for in that case <sup>25</sup> and <sup>26</sup>, <sup>19</sup> and <sup>20</sup>, would not have been run together; the verses have been taken from St.<sup>1551</sup>, and have been inserted in the body of a Latin exemplar which was destitute of them.

This is very strong ground for disbelieving in the existence of any Stephanically numbered text of the Latin Vulgate at any earlier date than 1555, for surely, if such a printed text had been extant, other than that contained in St.<sup>1551</sup> and its descendants, such a text would have been used as copy for the Vulgate of 1555. We infer, then, that the verse-numbered Vulgate which was used in St.<sup>1551</sup> had disappeared. Probably it was merely used as copy and destroyed.

From what source, then, was the text of the Latin Stephen of 1555 taken? We can answer this question: it was taken from the Paris Stephen of 1545, and was set up with the very same types and in direct imitation of this edition. The only difference is a very slight reduction in the length of the lines and pages.

Now, on examining this edition of 1545, we find that it is not a simple Vulgate text; it is a double text composed of the Erasmic and Vulgate versions in parallel columns. More curious still, the Erasmic has the outside place, exactly as in the Stephen of 1551.

Now it seems likely that St.<sup>1551</sup> was produced by setting up the Greek text of St.<sup>1550</sup> in the midst of an already existing Erasmic-Vulgate text. For it would be very awkward to set up from three exemplars at once. The Erasmic-Vulgate being to hand in the edition of 1545, we suggest that it was made into copy for St.<sup>1551</sup>, the verses being numbered probably on the margin. This copy having disappeared, a new text of the Vulgate was printed from the 1545 edition, with the verses inserted from the edition of 1551, and the margins brought up to agreement with the same edition. This edition of 1555 takes the place of the lost copy of 1545 from which the printers had worked in making the edition of 1551.

We will conclude the inquiry by a few references to a still earlier Latin text of the Gospels divided into verses. There is extant a volume printed by Stephen in 1553 entitled, *In Evangelium secundum Matthaeum Marcum et Lucam Commentarii ex Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus Collecti*. It is probably the volume to which Stephen refers in the preface to the 1551 edition, when he says: *His igitur interim frui, Lector, ut illarum annotationum, quas assiduo cursu persequimur, desiderium lenius feras. Vale.* In this work the verses are (1) separated, (2) numbered. Moreover, the text is again double, but with this difference that this time the large print is the Vulgate and

the small print the Erasmic. The Vulgate was, in fact, forced into the place of honor by its greater likeness to the text that underlies the commentaries quoted by Stephen.

The first three Gospels are followed by an abbreviation of the Evangelical Harmony of Osiander; Stephen had printed this at Paris in 1545. The present abbreviated reprint has the chapters and verses of the Evangelists employed in each section indicated in a short preface, so that here also we come across the Stephanic verses. And the volume concludes with the Gospel of John (Vulgate and Erasmic as in the previous Gospels) with the commentary of John Calvin. As far, then, as the Gospels are concerned we have a Latin New Testament in 1553 with verses divided and numbered.

Before leaving this somewhat tentative examination of a difficult problem in the genealogy of texts and editions, it may not be out of place to make some remarks with regard to the two glosses that served as our waymarks in our search after the verse-numbered Latin text.

The gloss in Acts 24<sup>19</sup> appears to be inserted in order to relieve the harshness of the construction in the Greek *Τινες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι*, where the verb is wanting: if then we drop the "*et*" at the beginning of the gloss, and imagine a copy in which the text stood as follows with a marginal reading:

*Quidam autem ex apprehenderunt me  
Asia Judaei, quos clamantes et  
oportebat etc. dicentes; Tolle inimicum nostrum:*

we shall see ground for believing that the marginal gloss has got into the wrong place in the text, before *quidam . . . Judaei* instead of after. This misplacement of the Western readings in Acts has been suspected in other cases, and is a strong reason against believing that they are an original feature of the Old-Latin texts in which they are found so displaced.

On the other hand, with regard to this particular gloss, we ought to recognize (a) its antiquity; (b) its possible Lucanity. It is (a) an ancient gloss because of the feeling it expresses of hostility between Paul and the Jews and the language in which it expresses that feeling. A late glossator would hardly have known that the Jews called Paul "our enemy." Nor is there any expression in the Acts containing that statement which could furnish the material for an assimilation of the text. Hence the matter must be either original or at least so early as to have caught the spirit of the time





when the history was composed. For it is clear that they actually did call St. Paul "the enemy." Compare the appeal of Paul to the Galatians (Gal. 4<sup>16</sup>) ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν; and remark how the watchword has colored the Clementine Homilies, where, under the figure of a conflict between Peter and Simon Magus, the struggle between the Peter party and the Paul party is pictorially set forth; e.g. Clem. Hom. i. 18, "For if he (Simon) were known, he would not be believed; and though his deeds are those of a hater, he is loved; and *though an enemy*, he is received as a friend," and in the prologue to the Homilies, which is called the Epistle of Peter to James, we find the statement that "some from amongst the Gentiles have rejected my legal preaching, attaching themselves to certain lawless and trifling preaching of the man *who is my enemy*."

There need, then, be no hesitation in affirming that Paul was described by the Jews as "our enemy," and in this respect the gloss bears the semblance of antiquity and verisimilitude. Yet, as we have said, the evidence is against its having been part of the original Latin text.

As to the other passage, Acts 23<sup>25</sup>, it is so awkward an insertion, that it makes it almost impossible to construe the words γράψας ἐπιστολήν κτέ., which are now far removed from their apposition. Accordingly the gloss is thrown into a parenthesis in the Clementine Vulgate, so as to ease the construction. I am not, however, quite sure whether this parenthesis is editorial in the authorized Vulgate, or whether it is a survival of the marks of obelization with which the sentences are surrounded in earlier printed Latin Bibles. It seems, however, pretty clear that in the Latin the words have come into the text from without, i.e. either from the margin, or (which is not inconsistent with that supposition) by translation from some other language. It is interesting to observe how, in questions of textual criticism, all roads lead to the origin of the much-debated Western readings.

## The Levitical Priesthood, a Study in Social Development.

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THE evidences as to the development of the Levitical priesthood may be classified under the following general heads :

(a) The statements of writers who, as themselves belonging to the institution in question, may be supposed to have investigated its history with special zeal and to have had special sources of information, but who because of their special interest must be received with caution as liable to exaggeration and favoritism.

(b) Material formulated by non-Levitical writers, who cannot be suspected of partiality for the institution, but on the contrary may have been too indifferent to it to do it justice, or even have been prejudiced against it (*e.g.* Deut. 33<sup>1b</sup>).

(c) Ancient songs in which the institution is overlooked or ignored (Jud. 5), regarded adversely (Gen. 49), or interceded for (Deut. 33). Historical location having been found for these songs, chronologically and geographically, by their own internal evidence, they may then be used to indicate the standing of the institution at the period in question.

(d) Historical situations where the institution might be expected to appear, but by implication does not exist.

The origin of an institution is often best arrived at by tracing the evidences backward step by step, thus working from the known to the unknown. There can be no question that in post-exilic times there was a Levitical order, complete in organization, strong in authority, having a large body of literature of its own, making and observing an elaborate ritual. What the institution was in the time of Moses, or whether it then existed at all, is one object of our inquiry. For it is in this early period that the non-Levitical evidence differs most widely from Levitical statements.

The most difficult portion of the inquiry, so far as estimating the

value of the testimony is concerned, lies in the later middle period, where the character of the institution is approximating to its final stage, and where therefore the Levitical testimony, while not more reliable in spirit, is necessarily less at variance with the facts and therefore less easily detected in error by any variance from non-Levitical evidence.

Following mainly the non-Levitical evidences for the earliest period, as giving results more in accord with the general laws of social evolution, and presenting it in the direct chronological order, we may treat the development in five stages of somewhat indefinite demarcation.

I. Among the clans of Hebrew stock was one known as the *bene Levi* (Ex. 32<sup>26-28</sup> [E]) characterized by a more warlike disposition than their fellow-clans (Gen. 49<sup>5-7</sup> [J]), a peculiar conservatism in regard to foreign alliances (Gen. 34<sup>20</sup> [J]), and a more zealous devotion to the new Jahweh theology taught by their great fellow-clansman Moses (Ex. 32<sup>26-28</sup> [E]). Their military spirit made them among the first to enter on the conquest of Canaan, where their extreme conservatism involved them in peculiar difficulties. Together with the *bene Shimon* they rejected all overtures of alliance and resisted the tendencies to amalgamation with the Canaanites. While the other clans, acknowledging their weakness before the enwalled towns, accepted the situation and contented themselves with occupying the outlying country in a semi-nomadic mode of life, waiting for time and the growth of friendly relations or the more rapid numerical increase of country populations to give them an entrance to the cities and eventual possession (Jud. 1<sup>21, 27-31</sup> [J]), the *bene Levi* and the *bene Shimon* attempted from the first to exterminate the urban populations (Gen. 34 [J's narrative = vv. 25 *passim*. 30, 31]). Though temporarily successful in their attack upon Shechem, they were in the end so broken in the struggle that they lost their clan organization, and the survivors, having delayed too long in settling down to agricultural pursuits, found themselves without territorial allotment or industrial occupation and compelled to seek a precarious living (Jud. 17<sup>8a-10</sup> [J]) among the other clans, who disapproved of their violence as likely to hinder a peaceable occupation of the land by involving them all in a blood feud (Gen. 34<sup>30, 31</sup> 49<sup>5-7</sup> [J]). The dispersion of the *bene Levi*, which the Levitical writers would have us believe was a special honor conferred on them as the chosen priest tribe of Jahweh (Deut. 10<sup>8, 9</sup> Num. 35<sup>1-6</sup> [P] Ezek. 44<sup>28</sup>), is explained by J on a sociologically much more probable ground as a social ban, a natural and just penalty for their illiberal and unsocial disposition. Shechem recovered from

their assault and in time accepted amalgamation with a branch of the *bene Joseph* (Jud. 6<sup>18</sup> 8<sup>31, 33</sup>), though not without strong opposition from a remnant of the older and more conservative portion of the original population who kept in memory their treatment by the *bene Levi* and *bene Shim'on* (Jud. 9<sup>28</sup> [J]).

II. Up to this time there is no priestly character attaching to the Levites as such. But with the change in their material fortunes, there comes a change in their disposition, or rather an emphasis of one trait, the religious, and the loss of another, the military; just as a man on the loss of his eyesight is apt to acquire an extra sensitiveness of touch and hearing. Out of the clan's composite of characteristics that had found its supreme expression in the all-round character of Moses, the religious trait emerges, now that the exercise of military qualities is no longer possible. The individual Levite without territorial allotment or military occupation must now make his living by his brains, and takes to cultivating religious functions. A few of the clan constituting its original patriarchal priesthood already have an occupation as custodians of the tribal or national palladium, the ark, at Shiloh; but the rest must find a place where they can.

For such a change in disposition and occupation, we have a sociological analogy in the Jews of the dispersion, who from being predominantly agricultural became under changed conditions preëminently the commercial and financial people of the world. Their latent capacity for finance is recognized as early as the times of Gehazi (2 K. 5<sup>20</sup>) and Amos (8<sup>5, 6</sup>), but it needed the Exile to develop it fully. In the period of the Judges, the Levite, while retaining the clan name, is looked upon rather as a professional character, a journeyman hierophant (Jud. 17<sup>8</sup>), though having as yet little sense of professional solidarity. Our closer analogy here is in the great number of Jews that in Roman times betook themselves to exorcism and sorcery as a profession (Matt. 12<sup>27</sup> Acts 8<sup>9</sup> 13<sup>6</sup> 19<sup>13</sup>). The Levite now cultivates a professional intonation by which he is readily recognized by strangers as a Levite (Jud. 18<sup>3</sup> [E]). He is regarded as more acceptable to the deity in priestly service than the patriarchal priest-father or his deputy, the eldest son (Jud. 17<sup>13</sup> [J]). This perhaps indicates a waning among the Hebrews of the more primitive religious ideas connected with ancestor worship or teraphim (Jud. 17<sup>3</sup> [J] Gen. 31<sup>19b</sup> [E]) and a growing appreciation of nature gods, of whom Jahweh, the god of Moses, was coming to be the most important (Jud. 5<sup>4, 5</sup> [J] Deut. 33<sup>2</sup> Ex. 19<sup>16-18</sup> [E] 15<sup>1-18</sup> 6<sup>3</sup> [P] 32 [E], De Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, Bk. III. ch. ii.). The Danites as well as the Ephraimite Micah value the Levite as a medium

of divine communication (Jud. 18<sup>3</sup> [J]) and a valuable acquisition as priest-father to a clan (v.<sup>10</sup> [J]). He is ready to go wherever he can find employment and is glad of promotion to a larger field of usefulness (v.<sup>20</sup> [J]). But the old patriarchal or family priesthood is still in vogue and sacrifice is not yet thought of as exclusively the prerogative of Levitical priests (Jud. 6<sup>10</sup> 13<sup>10</sup> 17<sup>5</sup> [J] 6<sup>23-27</sup> [E<sup>2</sup>] 11<sup>31, 39</sup> [E]).

The absence of any mention of Levi in the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5) is noticeable. It might be accounted for on the ground that Levi was a priest tribe, were it not that Simeon also is omitted; and if both omissions are explained by the scattered condition of those clans, the silence as to Judah also requires to be explained on some other ground; but this would carry us beyond our present purpose.

III. The third stage in Levitical development begins with Samuel. Here perhaps we should be on our guard against a possible Levitical coloring of the evidences by the compiler. The narrative of Samuel's relation to Saul has been resolved into three or four documentary strata, as by Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels* (1878), vol. i. pp. 256-258. However that may be, it is generally agreed that one characteristic feature of the time is the appearing of religious personages in companies, indicating an incipient sense of professional solidarity (1 Sam. 10<sup>5, 10</sup>), a movement attributed to the influence of Samuel. Between the patriarchal priests of the primitive system, presiding over mutually exclusive family mysteries, there could of course be no recognition of fellowship (De Coulanges, *Anc. City*, Bk. I. ch. iv.); but when priests had come to let themselves out for hire wherever they could get the most pay, there would inevitably soon arise a sense of professionalism drawing them together by other than family ties.

The story of Samuel's rupture with Saul may be, as some think, a late invention to account for and justify the subsequent failure of Saul's house and to exalt the priesthood; yet it is sociologically most probable that such a rupture took place. Samuel and Saul were in personal character the Thomas à Becket and Henry II. of their day, or the Pope and Henry VIII. Saul might be called in some sense a Defender of the Faith. He was devoutly religious, intolerant of witchcraft (1 Sam. 28<sup>23</sup>), observant of the new moons (20<sup>27</sup>), scrupulous against eating meat with the blood (14<sup>30</sup>), sternly impartial in performance of oaths and vows (14<sup>24, 30, 44</sup>), and susceptible to the influence of religious company and occasions (10<sup>10-13</sup> 19<sup>21, 24</sup>). In his earlier years he was deferential to Samuel as the older man and the one to whom in part he owed his crown (13<sup>8</sup> 15<sup>24, 25</sup>). Nevertheless, he would brook no interference from priests (14<sup>10</sup>), and on occasion could massacre an

entire village of them (22<sup>18</sup>) ; so that even Samuel stood in fear of him (16<sup>2</sup>), felt that he had made a mistake in selecting him, secretly anointed David and waited, for the time had not come when priestly functions could be appropriated by any one individual or by a professional class. Saul was standing on the ancient right of patriarchal and military leadership to officiate at sacrifices.

The period of Samuel and Saul, commonly regarded as the beginning of the Hebrew monarchy, may quite as properly be spoken of as the beginning of the *Church*, using the word in its hierarchal sense ; for at this point begins the actual differentiation of Church and State out of the previous composite of religious and civil authority popularly known as the Theocracy. Here, too, begins the quarrel between Church and State, which breaks out at intervals through the following centuries with the balance generally in favor of the State, till the Church survives the downfall of the monarchy, and the two authorities are eventually again united in the Maccabean princes (1 Macc. 14<sup>41</sup>).

The Levitical historians claim Samuel as a Levite (1 Chron. 6<sup>31-28</sup>), but note the disjointed setting of v. 28 and the absence of any implication to that effect in 1 Sam. 1, where the family from Ramah, a town not listed among the Levitical cities of Josh. 21, come to Shiloh once a year as ordinary worshippers. But whatever be Samuel's descent, his claiming the functions of priesthood exclusively for himself or for a religious order, ineffectual though it was at the time, tended to exalt the sacred profession, and with it its representatives the Levites, and to promote still further their sense of professional solidarity. It is somewhat later than this probably that we must date the so-called Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33). The author of this poem regards the Levites as of untraced descent and unaffiliated as coördinates with the other clans (v. 9, cf. Heb. 7<sup>9</sup>) and as specially equipped for giving oracular responses and for teaching (vv. 8-10), but there are still in the nation those who refuse them the recognition due them (v. 11). The rivalry between the new order of religious functionaries and the old is becoming more sharply defined. The Levite is forging to the front and has his advocates among the song-makers of the nation, but has much yet to do to establish his preëminence. In speaking of this poem, which by its internal evidence seems to belong to the northern kingdom after the disruption, we have used by anticipation material belonging to the next stage.

IV. The fourth stage of the development is marked by royal patronage and supervision, and begins with David. This royal favor continues after the disruption only in the southern kingdom, the north-

ern kings continuing, or reverting to, the earlier system (1 K. 12<sup>31</sup>); under which, however, many individual Levites doubtless found employment as before (Ezek. 44<sup>10</sup>).

In the southern kingdom, the king, as in Saul's time, still maintained his right of leadership in religious functions (2 Sam. 6<sup>13, 14</sup>; 1 K. 3<sup>15</sup>), and there was no one of such commanding personality as Samuel to contest his right; but he honored the Levites, and, under the growing cares of state and the increasing demand of the temple service, he was obliged to delegate to them more and more the actual performance of the rites; not failing, however, to remind them from time to time, by deposing a priest (1 K. 2<sup>28, 27</sup>), or putting one to death (2 Chron. 24<sup>21</sup>), that the Church is still subordinate to the State. Nevertheless, under royal patronage, even with such limitations, the power of the priesthood grew; and it is significant of this growth that, whereas Solomon could depose Abiathar by a simple judicial fiat, Joash had to resort to conspiracy and mob-violence to rid himself of Zechariah ben Jehoiadah's interference. Under Uzziah, a stronger king than Joash, the priests successfully withstood the king's attempt to assert in a test case his ancient right to offer incense in the temple (2 Chron. 26<sup>16-20</sup>; cf. 1 K. 3<sup>8</sup> 12<sup>30</sup>). For, though we may question the chronicler's view that Uzziah's leprosy was a consequence of his sacrilege, it is easy to believe that there was a contest of authority resulting in the king's defeat which the hierarchy made the most of as a warning to later rulers. Within little more than a century, the priests, — the Levites, — with the aid of the prophets, were able to effect the centralization of sacrificial worship at Jerusalem, by which a stronger organization of the priesthood became possible; and now the priest-prophet (Jer. 33<sup>17-22</sup>) ventured to regard the Levitical priesthood as coördinate with the monarchy in the enjoyment of a divine promise of perpetuity. The downfall of the monarchy soon left the priesthood in undisputed possession of the field.

V. The remaining step in the development was a process of ecclesiastical refinement within the body, by which a distinction in holiness was made between those who had remained faithful in times of apostasy and those who had yielded to the temptation to make a living at heathen altars, in disregard of the principle of the central sanctuary. Ample provision had been made in the Deuteronomic legislation (Deut. 18<sup>6-8</sup>) for all such as would come to Jerusalem, but many had failed to come up to these latest and most advanced conceptions of Jahweh's character and requirements. The question as

to their proper treatment by the faithful, first dealt with by Ezekiel in anticipation of the re-institution of temple service (Ezek. 44<sup>10-16</sup> 48<sup>11</sup>), is the Old Testament counterpart of the Novatian and Donatist controversies as to the proper attitude of the New Testament Church toward the repentant *libellatici*, and was settled by a compromise, in which the Zadokite priests, "that went not astray," reserved for themselves the higher offices, but allowed the others — henceforth to be known as mere Levites in distinction from priests — a menial position in the temple ministrations, with the privilege of partial support out of the sacrificial offerings.

The growing sense of solidarity among the Levites, from the time of Samuel onward, showed itself in a tendency to aggregation in certain localities, — a tendency seen in social classes of every kind in every age. An early trace of this tendency is seen in the priest city of Nob (1 Sam. 22<sup>19</sup>), not included in the post-exilic list of Josh. 21 (P). In many cities the Levitical element at length dominated, or even crowded out all others, to such an extent that they became known as Levitical cities. At what period the process was so far accomplished that the method of it could be forgotten and the *status quo* could be attributed to Moses cannot be definitely stated; but it must have been after the legislation of D and before that of P, and, probably, not till post-exilic times. In D the Levites appear as objects of charity, along with the poor, the fatherless, the widow, and the stranger, and seem to be distributed throughout the community as pervasively as son and daughter, man-servant and maid-servant (Deut. 14<sup>27-29</sup> 18<sup>1-3</sup>), a sort of mendicant friars or dervishes, except when they attach themselves to some sanctuary. This, perhaps, accounts in part for the Levites' lack of interest in the projected return from Babylon (Ezra 8<sup>15</sup>).

The primitive system of land tenure in Israel, according to which land when alienated must revert periodically to the original family, gave few openings for the landless Levites to acquire agricultural foothold. Nevertheless, they did secure such properties. Abiathar, driven by Saul from Nob (1 Sam. 22<sup>20</sup>), is found in his old age possessed of fields at Anathoth (1 K. 2<sup>26</sup>). The legislation of D recognizes that a Levite may have proceeds from the sale of his patrimony (Deut. 18<sup>8</sup>), presumably referring to real estate. Jeremiah purchases a field of his cousin in Anathoth (Jer. 32<sup>6-15</sup>). In the breaking down of the primitive system of land tenure (1 K. 21<sup>4</sup>), under the increasing civilization of the times of Jeroboam II. and Uzziah, when the wealthy nobles acquired vast estates by foreclosure of mortgages on

the peasant proprietors (Am. 2<sup>7</sup> Is. 5<sup>8</sup> Mic. 2<sup>2-9</sup>), the priests found means to enrich themselves (Am. 2<sup>8</sup> Hos. 5<sup>1-6</sup>), and may also have acquired landed possessions. When, moreover, the exiles returned from Babylon, it was possible to assign to the Levites generous allotments, not on Ezekiel's ideal plan of a broad, geometrical strip of territory (Ezek. 48<sup>13</sup>), for there were yet in the land many of the peasantry, who would have to be evicted for such a purpose; but the cities were more available, for the Babylonian policy of deportation, by removing especially the nobility and the craftsmen, had accomplished here a more complete depopulation than in the rural districts (2 K. 25<sup>12</sup>). The legislation of P (Lev. 25<sup>23-34</sup>), while retaining the old system of reversion for agricultural lands, allowed the transfer of city properties with only a year's right of redemption; but made an exception here in favor of the Levite, who might redeem at any time (v. 30). If Naboth's vineyard was actually in the city of Jezreel, as seems to be implied in 1 K. 21<sup>1</sup>, this distinction between urban and rural properties had not yet arisen in the times of Ahab.

A new feature in the post-exilic legislation, and one that always accompanies priestly ascendancy, is the provision legalizing religious endowments, corresponding to what the Moslems call *waqf* (Lev. 27<sup>30, 31</sup>), whose abuse was rebuked by Jesus (Mk. 7<sup>11</sup>), and has called for restrictive legislation ever since. In this and other ways the Levites secured in time a recognized title to as many as forty-eight cities, numbering among them some of the choicest bits of property in Palestine, such as Hebron, Bethshemesh, Shechem, En Gannim, and Taanach.

It needed the catastrophe of the Babylonian exile to complete the removal of the social ban that had fallen on the Levites in the times of the Judges, and to crown with success their long struggle for reinstatement as the leading social force in the nation. When this ascendancy was at length firmly secured, it became possible for Levitical writers to set forth an account of the origin of the Levitical priesthood as different from that implied by J and E as the Roman Catholic explanation of the origin of the Papacy is different from that given by early church historians.

## The Use of רִיחַ in the Old Testament.

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I PROPOSE in this article to give a complete statement of the use of רִיחַ in the Old Testament as a companion to my article on נֶפֶשׁ in the JOURNAL for 1897, pp. 17 seq. I have given a study of לֵב and לִבָּב in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut*, Berlin, 1897: pp. 94-105. I classify all of the passages under appropriate heads. I do not give any etymology of the word, but only its literary use. רִיחַ is used 378 times. The passages may be classified as follows:

(1) רִיחַ = *breath of the mouth or nostrils*, 33 times:

(a)

רִיחַ פִּי, breath of his mouth Job 15<sup>31</sup>;  
 רִיחַ אֲפִי, breath of our nostrils Lam. 4<sup>21</sup> (fig., of יְהוָה);  
 רִיחִי נִרְחָה לְאִשְׁתִּי, my breath is loathsome to my wife Job 19<sup>17</sup>;  
 לֹא רִיחַ בָּם, there was no breath in them Jer. 10<sup>14</sup> = 51<sup>17</sup>;  
 אֵין רִיחַ בְּפִדְיָם, ψ 135<sup>17</sup>;  
 קִלְרִיחַ אֵין בְּקִרְבִּי Hab. 2<sup>19</sup>;

cf.

לֹא יִתְנֶנִּי הַשֵּׁב רִיחִי Job 9<sup>18</sup>.

(b) *Breath of man's mouth as mere breath*: cf. (2)(c).

דִּבְרֵי-רִיחַ, words of breath; windy, gassy words Job 16<sup>3</sup>;  
 לְרִיחַ אֲפִרִי טָאֵשׁ Job 6<sup>26</sup>; הִנֵּה לְרִיחַ Jer. 5<sup>18</sup>.

(c) *Breath of the mouth as the word of command*:

(a) The breath of God is creative:

(נַעֲשִׂי) בְּרִיחַ פִּי קִלְעִצְבָּאִם

By the breath of his mouth all their host (were made) ψ 33<sup>6</sup>;

cf.

בְּרִיחַ הוּא צִוָּה

יְרִיחִי הוּא קִבְּצָן Is. 34<sup>16</sup>.

(β) The word of the 'messianic king' is destructive :

בְּרִיחַ שְׁפָתָיו יָמִית רָשָׁע

With the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked Is. 11<sup>4</sup>.

(d) *The breath as the hard breathing through the nostrils in anger :*

(a) Of God :

בְּרִיחַ אִפּוֹ יִכְלֹו, by the breath of his nostrils they are consumed Job 4<sup>9</sup>;  
 בְּרִיחַ אִפְדֵי נְקֻמּוֹ מִים Ex. 15<sup>8</sup> (Poem); רִיחוֹ בְּנַחַל שׁוֹטָף Is. 30<sup>28</sup>;  
 מְנַשְׁמַת רִיחַ אִף 2 S. 22<sup>16</sup> = ψ 18<sup>16</sup>; רִיחַ יְהוָה לִמְסָה בּוֹ Is. 59<sup>19</sup>.

(β) Of man :

רִיחַ קָרָעִים, breath (of anger) of the terrible ones Is. 25<sup>4</sup>.

(e) *The breath as the sign and symbol of life :*

רִיחַ חַיִּים, breath of life Gen. 6<sup>17</sup> 7<sup>15</sup> (P);  
 נְשָׁמַת רִיחַ חַיִּים בְּאַפִּי, breathing of the breath of life in his nostrils Gen. 7<sup>22</sup> (P);  
 אָנֹכִי מְבִיא בְּכֶם רִיחַ חַיִּים וְחַיִּיתֶם, I am going to bring breath into you and ye shall live  
 Ez. 37<sup>6</sup>;

cf. 37<sup>6, 8, 9, 9, 10, 14</sup>, where some render *breath* and others *spirit*;

רִיחַ אֶחָד לְכָל, all have one breath of life (man and beast alike) Ec. 3<sup>19</sup>.

(2) *Wind*, used 117 times :

(a) *Wind of heaven :*

Gen. 8<sup>1</sup> (P) Ex. 15<sup>10</sup> (E) Nu. 11<sup>81</sup> (J) 1 Ki. 18<sup>46</sup> 19<sup>11, 11</sup> 2 Ki. 3<sup>17</sup> Job 28<sup>26</sup> 30<sup>15, 22</sup>  
 37<sup>21</sup> ψ 1<sup>4</sup> 18<sup>18</sup> 103<sup>16</sup> 147<sup>18</sup> Prov. 11<sup>29</sup> 25<sup>14</sup> 27<sup>16</sup> 30<sup>4</sup> Ec. 1<sup>6, 6</sup> 11<sup>4</sup> Is. 7<sup>2</sup> 32<sup>2</sup> 41<sup>16</sup>  
 57<sup>18</sup> 64<sup>6</sup> Jer. 2<sup>24</sup> 4<sup>11, 12</sup> 22<sup>22</sup> Ez. 5<sup>2</sup> Ho. 8<sup>7</sup> 12<sup>2</sup> Am. 4<sup>18</sup> Hab. 1<sup>11</sup> Zech. 5<sup>9</sup>;  
 רִיחַ (הַ)קָּדִים, east wind Ex. 10<sup>13, 13</sup> 14<sup>21</sup> (J) ψ 48<sup>8</sup> Jer. 18<sup>17</sup> Ez. 17<sup>10</sup> 19<sup>12</sup> 27<sup>23</sup> Jon. 4<sup>8</sup>;  
 רִיחַ צָפוֹן, north wind Prov. 25<sup>28</sup>;  
 רִיחַ יָם, sea wind (west wind) Ex. 10<sup>19</sup> (J);  
 רִיחַ הַיָּם, day wind, the evening wind Gen. 3<sup>8</sup> (J) (a short time before sunset;  
 cf. Ct. 2<sup>17</sup> 4<sup>6</sup>);  
 רִיחַ מִדְבָּר, wind from the wilderness Jer. 13<sup>24</sup>;  
 אַרְבַּע רִיחוֹת, four winds Jer. 49<sup>36</sup> Ez. 37<sup>9</sup> (quarters?) Dan. 8<sup>8</sup> 11<sup>4</sup> (fig. quarters;  
 cf. (b)) Zech. 2<sup>10</sup> 6<sup>6</sup>;  
 לְכָל רִיחַ, to every wind Jer. 49<sup>32</sup> Ez. 5<sup>10, 12</sup> 12<sup>14</sup> 17<sup>21</sup>;

cf.

לְכָל הָרִיחוֹת הָאֵלֶּה Jer. 49<sup>36</sup>;

רוח סערה, storm wind  $\psi$  107<sup>26</sup> 148<sup>8</sup> Ez. 1<sup>4</sup> (רו סערות) 13<sup>11.13</sup>;  
 רוח סערה, rushing wind  $\psi$  55<sup>9</sup> (possibly a mistake for סערה *Hupf*);  
 רוח גדולה, great wind 1 Ki. 19<sup>11</sup> Job 1<sup>10</sup> Jon. 1<sup>4</sup>;  
 רוח משחית, destroying wind Jer. 51<sup>1</sup>;  
 רוח זקנות, burning wind  $\psi$  11<sup>6</sup>;  
 ברוחו הקשה, with his rough wind Is. 27<sup>8</sup>;  
 ברוחו רוחו Is. 11<sup>16</sup> (mistake for רוח, with his violent wind, *πνευματι βιαλω*, so LXX, Syr. Vulg.);  
 רוח עבד אמרי סוד, the words of thy mouth a mighty wind Job 8<sup>2</sup>;  
 ברוח משפט וברוח קשר, by the wind (blast) of judgment and the wind (blast) of burning Is. 4<sup>4</sup>;  
 כמלך לפני רוח, as chaff before the wind  $\psi$  35<sup>6</sup> Is. 17<sup>13</sup>;

cf.

רוח ענקש לפני רוח  $\psi$  83<sup>14</sup>;      בתבן לפני רוח Job 21<sup>18</sup>;

רוח מאצותיו (רוח), he bringeth forth wind out of his treasures Jer. 10<sup>13</sup>;  
 cited in Jer. 51<sup>16</sup>  $\psi$  135<sup>7</sup>.

The wind is personified and compared to a bird with wings :

כנפי רוח, wings of the wind 2 S. 22<sup>11</sup> =  $\psi$  18<sup>11</sup> 104<sup>8</sup>;

cf. Ho. 4<sup>19</sup>;

עשה מלאכי רוחו, making (of) winds his angels  $\psi$  104<sup>4</sup>.

The wind as directed by God is :

רוח יהוה, wind of Yahweh Is. 40<sup>7</sup> Ho. 13<sup>16</sup>;

ברוחו שמים טהרה, by his wind the heavens become serene Job 26<sup>13</sup>

(so Di. Budd.).

(b) *Quarter of the wind, side :*

רוח הקדים, east side Ez. 42 <sup>16</sup> ;	רוח הים, sea side, or west side Ez. 42 <sup>19</sup> ;
רוח הצפון, north side Ez. 42 <sup>17</sup> ;	ארבע רוחות, four sides 1 Chr. 9 <sup>24</sup> Ez. 42 <sup>20</sup> ;
רוח הדרום, south side Ez. 42 <sup>18</sup> ;	רוחה, on a side Jer. 52 <sup>23</sup> .

(c) *Breath of air :*

שָׁאֲפוּ רוח בתנים, they pant for a breath of air as the jackals Jer. 14<sup>6</sup>;

רוח לא יבא ביניהם, a breath of air cannot come between them Job 41<sup>8</sup>.

(d) *Air or gas from the womb (disputed and dubious) :*

במנו ילדנו רוח, we as it were brought forth wind Is. 26<sup>18</sup> (Di. (c));

רוחכם אש תאכלכם, your wind is a fire that devourerth you (R.V. breath) Is. 33<sup>11</sup>  
 (Du. (3) (c)).

(c) *Wind for vain, empty things :*

רוח חַי, my life is wind Job 7<sup>7</sup>; רִעַת רוח, windy knowledge Job 15<sup>2</sup>;  
רוח, striving for wind Ec. 1<sup>14</sup> 2<sup>11</sup>. 17. 38 4<sup>4</sup>. 6 6<sup>9</sup>;  
רוח רָעוֹן Ec. 1<sup>17</sup> 4<sup>16</sup>; רוח וְרוּחַ נִסְכֵּיהֶם Is. 41<sup>29</sup>.  
רוח יַעֲמַל Ec. 5<sup>16</sup>;

(3) *The spirit as that which breathes quickly or hard in animation or agitation of any kind = temper, disposition.* (This is the distinctive meaning of רוּחַ as compared with נֶפֶשׁ and לֵב.) In this sense it is used 76 times.

(a) *Spirit, animation, vivacity, vigour :*

לֹא הָיָה בָּהּ עוֹד רוּחַ, there was no more spirit in her 1 Ki. 10<sup>6</sup> = 2 Chr. 9<sup>4</sup> (she lost her spirits, became depressed, humiliated, and discouraged);  
מָה יָהּ רוּחֲךָ סָרָה, Why then has thy spirit departed? 1 Ki. 21<sup>6</sup> (Ahab lost his spirits);  
וַיִּחְיֶי רוּחַ, and the spirit (of Jacob) revived Gen. 45<sup>27</sup> (E);  
וַיִּתְּשֵׁב רוּחוֹ Ju. 15<sup>19</sup> 1 S. 30<sup>12</sup> (Dr., he revived, his vitality).

(b) *Courage :*

לֹא הָיָה בָּם עוֹד רוּחַ, (their hearts were melted and) there was no courage in them any more Jos. 5<sup>1</sup>;  
יִבְצֹר רוּחַ נְדִידִים, he shall cut off (take away) the courage of princes ψ 76<sup>13</sup>;  
נִבְקָה רוּחַ מִצְרַיִם (1), the courage of Egypt shall be emptied out Is. 19<sup>3</sup>;  
רוּחִי יִתְּשֵׁב, my spirit faints away ψ 77<sup>4</sup> 142<sup>4</sup> 143<sup>4</sup>

(see *BDB. new Heb. Lex.*) ;

רוּחַ אִישׁ יִבְלֶה מִחֲלָדוֹ Prov. 18<sup>14</sup>.  
לֹא קָמָה עוֹד רוּחַ Jos. 2<sup>11</sup>;

(c) *Temper, especially anger :*

רוּחַ רָעָה בֵּין, a bad temper between (Abimelech and the men of Shechem) Ju. 9<sup>28</sup>;  
אָז הִסָּתָה רוּחָם, then their anger abated Ju. 8<sup>3</sup>;  
מִשָּׁל בְּרוּחוֹ, ruler of his temper Pr. 16<sup>32</sup>;  
כָּל רוּחוֹ יוֹצִיא בְּסִיל, a fool utters all his anger Prov. 29<sup>11</sup>;  
אֲשֶׁר אֵין מִסְעָר לְרוּחוֹ Prov. 25<sup>28</sup>;  
כִּי תִשָּׁב אֶל־אֵל רוּחֲךָ, that thou turnest thy temper against God Job 15<sup>13</sup>;  
הִנְחוּ אֶת־רוּחֲךָ Ec. 10<sup>4</sup>.  
אֶל־תִּבְהַל בְּרוּחֲךָ לַכֶּסֶם Ec. 7<sup>9</sup>;

(d) *Impatience or patience :*

קָצָר רוּחַ, impatience, hastiness of temper Ex. 6<sup>9</sup> (P);

cf.

אֶרֶךְ אַפִּים רַב־תְּבוּנָה

וְקַצְר־רוּחַ מִרִּים אֵלֶּה Prov. 14<sup>29</sup>;

כִּי מָלְאֹתִי מִלִּים

הַצִּיקֵנִי רוּחַ בְּטִנִּי

For I am full of words;

The spirit within me constraineth me Job 32<sup>18</sup>(Duhm, *breath*; Dilm. Budde, *divine spirit*, cf. v.<sup>8</sup>);אִם מְדוּעַ לֹא־תִקְצַר רוּחִי Job 21<sup>4</sup>;הֲקַצַּר רוּחַ יְהוָה, Is the temper of Yahweh impatient? Mi. 2<sup>7</sup>;אֶרֶךְ רוּחַ, patient of temper Ec. 7<sup>8</sup>.(e) *Bitterness, discontent of disposition* :מַרְת רוּחַ, bitterness of spirit Gen. 26<sup>26</sup> (P);קָצַבְתָּ רוּחַ, hurt in spirit (of Zion under image of deserted wife) Is. 54<sup>6</sup>;אֲשֶׁר חִמָּתָם שָׁתָה רוּחִי, whose heat my spirit drinks (*i.e.* the poison of God's arrows; so that he is unhappy and discontented in disposition) Job 6<sup>4</sup>;אֶלֶךְ מִרְ בְּחִמָּת רוּחִי, I went in bitterness, in the heat of my spirit Ez. 3<sup>14</sup>;(רוּחִי) תִּפְסַּם (רוּחִי), (his) spirit was troubled Gen. 41<sup>8</sup> (E) Dan. 2<sup>2</sup>;

cf.

(רוּחִי) תִּפְסַּם (רוּחִי) Dan. 2<sup>1</sup>.(f) *Crushed spirit or disposition* :כָּל רוּחַ (רוּחִי) בָּהֲתָה, every spirit shall be faint Ez. 21<sup>12</sup>;

cf.

רוּחַ בָּהָה Is. 61<sup>3</sup>;בְּשֹׁכֶת לֵב רוּחַ נִבְּאָה, by sorrow of heart the spirit is broken Prov. 15<sup>18</sup>;רוּחַ נִבְּאָה Prov. 17<sup>22</sup> 18<sup>14</sup>; פֶּלֶתָה רוּחִי ψ 143<sup>7</sup>;שָׁבַר בְּרוּחַ, breaking of spirit Prov. 15<sup>4</sup>.(g) *Disposition of various kinds, often unaccountable and uncontrollable impulse* :הֵעִיר אֶת־רוּחַ, stirred up the spirit 1 Chr. 5<sup>21</sup>. 2<sup>1</sup> 2 Chr. 21<sup>16</sup> 36<sup>22</sup> Ezra 1<sup>1</sup>. 5 Jer. 51<sup>11</sup> Hag. 1<sup>14</sup>. 14. 14;הֵנִי נִי (רוּחִי) בּוֹ רוּחַ, lo I am going to put in him a spirit (disposition) 2 Ki. 19<sup>7</sup> = Is. 37<sup>7</sup>;רוּחַ אַחֲרֵת עָמִי, another disposition with him Nu. 14<sup>24</sup> (J); (see BDB. עָם (3)).שָׂאָר רוּחַ לוֹ Mal. 2<sup>16</sup>; נִשְׁמָרְתָם בְּרוּחָם Mal. 2<sup>16</sup>. 16;רוּחַ קִנְאָה, jealous disposition Nu. 5<sup>14</sup>. 14. 8<sup>1</sup> (P);רוּחַ זָנוּיִם, spirit of whoredom, whorish disposition Ho. 4<sup>12</sup> 5<sup>4</sup>;

בִּרְחֻשָּׁה יְהוָה אֶת־רוּחוֹ, for Yahweh hardened his disposition Dt. 2<sup>30</sup>;  
רוּחַ טָעִים, spirit of perverseness, perverse temper Is. 19<sup>14</sup>;  
רוּחַ מִשְׁפָּט, judicial temper Is. 28<sup>6</sup>;  
רוּחַ אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בּוֹ (as capacity for administration) Gen. 41<sup>28</sup> (E);  
כִּי רוּחַ אִישׁ תְּבוּנָה, one of a cool (calm) disposition is a man of understanding  
Prov. 17<sup>27</sup>.

(h) *The prophetic spirit:*

רוּחַ אִשְׁרֵי רוּחַ אִישׁ יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, Joshua a man in whom is spirit Nu. 27<sup>18</sup> (P); (or as  
Gen. 41<sup>28</sup>);  
רוּחַ אֵלִיָּהוּ עַל־אֵלִישָׁע, the spirit of Elijah rests upon Elisha 2 Ki. 2<sup>16</sup>;  
וְהָיָא פִּרְשָׁנִים בְּרוּחִי אֵלַי, O let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me 2 Ki. 2<sup>9</sup>;  
רוּחַ תְּרֵדָה, spirit of deep sleep Is. 29<sup>10</sup> (ecstatic, cf. Gen. 2<sup>21</sup> 15<sup>12</sup>, but Di. as  
Is. 19<sup>14</sup>);  
לִי אִישׁ הֹלֵךְ רוּחַ יִשְׁקֵר בֹּנֵב, if a man walking in the spirit with falsehood do lie  
Mi. 2<sup>11</sup>;  
רוּחַ הַטְּמָאָה, the unclean spirit (of lying prophets) Zech. 13<sup>2</sup>;  
רוּחַ אַחֲרֵי רֵאשִׁית, (foolish prophets) walking after their own spirit Ez. 13<sup>3</sup>.

(4) *The spirit of the living, breathing being, dwelling in the בָּשָׂר of men and animals* || נִפְשׁ, used 25 times:

(a) It is the gift and creation of God:

רוּחַ אָדָם בְּקִרְבוֹ, former of the spirit of man within him Zech. 12<sup>1</sup>;  
רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בָּאִמִּי, רוּחַ לְהוֹלִכֵם בָּהּ (נָתַן) Is. 42<sup>6</sup>;

(b) God watches over it and preserves it:

רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בְּקִרְבוֹ, רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בְּקִרְבוֹ Job 10<sup>12</sup>;  
רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בְּקִרְבוֹ Job 12<sup>10</sup>.

Accordingly God is

אֱלֹהֵי הָרוּחַ לְכָל בָּשָׂר Nu. 16<sup>22</sup> 27<sup>16</sup> (P),

and

רוּחַ הָאִשׁ Prov. 16<sup>2</sup>. (Toy, "the whole inward nature.")

(c) The spirit is therefore God's spirit:

רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים לֹא יֵלֵךְ בָּאָדָם לְעֹלָם, my spirit will not abide in man forever Gen. 6<sup>3</sup> (J)

רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים לֹא יֵלֵךְ בָּאָדָם לְעֹלָם (M.T. error for יְדוּר Aramaism or יָלוּן good Hebrew word after LXX. Syr. Vul., see BDB.).

(d) It is the spirit that lives in the man and that departs at death (but Dr., "a wind that passeth away" (2) (e)):

וַיִּזְכֹּר כִּי בָשָׂר הָיָה  
רוּחַ הַדּוֹלֵךְ וְלֹא יָשׁוּב

And he remembered that they were flesh;  
A spirit departing and it returns not ψ 78<sup>20</sup>.

חַי רוּחַ, life of my spirit Is. 38<sup>16</sup> (but Di., principle of life);  
תָּצַא רוּחוֹ יָשׁוּב לְאַדְמָתוֹ, his spirit goeth forth, he returns to his ground ψ 146<sup>4</sup>.

וְלָקַח רוּחָם תָּנֶטֶן  
וְאֶל עָפָרָם יָשׁוּבוּן  
תִּשְׁלַח רוּחְךָ יִבְרָאֵן  
וּתְחַדֵּשׁ פְּנֵי אֲדָמָה

Thou takest away their spirit, they die,  
And unto their dust they return.  
Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created;  
And thou renewest the face of the ground ψ 104<sup>29-30</sup>.

רוּחוֹ וְלִשְׁמֹתוֹ אֵלֹהִי יִצְחָק יָנֵם כָּל בָּשָׂר תָּדַר Job 34<sup>14-15</sup>;  
Job 17<sup>1</sup>: רוּחִי חֲבָלָה Is. 57<sup>16</sup>: כִּי רוּחַ מִלִּקְשֵׁי טַמְאָה;  
Ec. 8<sup>9</sup> (wind, Wildeboer): אֵין אָדָם שְׁלֵיט קִרְיָה לְכֹלֵא אֶת־הָרוּחַ.

The sceptical spirit says in Ecclesiastes :

אֵיךְ יָדַע מִה־יָרֵד הָרוּחַ Ec. 11<sup>5</sup>;

מִי יָדַע רוּחַ בְּנֵי הָאָדָם הַטָּלָה הִיא לְמַעְלָה וְרוּחַ הַבְּהֵמָה הַיֹּרֶדֶת הִיא לְמַטָּה לְאָרֶץ  
Who knoweth the spirit of the sons of men, whether it ascendeth upward, or the  
spirit of beasts, whether it descendeth downward to the earth Ec. 3<sup>21</sup>.

But the god-fearing spirit says :

הָרוּחַ תָּשׁוּב אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר נָתַןָהּ, the spirit returneth unto the God who gave  
it Ec. 12<sup>7</sup>; ψ 31<sup>6</sup>: בְּיָדְךָ אִסְקֹד רוּחִי

(c) The disembodied being is spirit (doubtful. Di., Du., breath  
of wind) :

וְרוּחַ טָלַחַנִי חָלַף, and a spirit glided before my face Job 4<sup>15</sup>.

(5) *The spirit as the seat of the emotions and passions* = נַפֶּשׁ.

(a) *Desire* : possibly under (3) (g).

נָפְשִׁי אֶחְתָּד בְּלִילָה אֶת־רוּחִי בִקְרִי אֲשַׁחֲדָה, with my soul have I desired thee in  
the night; yea, with my spirit within me I seek thee early Is. 26<sup>9</sup>.

(b) *Sorrow and trouble*: possibly under (3)(c).

אֲדַבֵּר בְּצַר רוּחִי  
אֶשְׁחָד בְּמַר נַפְשִׁי

I will speak in the anguish of my spirit;  
I will complain in the bitterness of my soul Job 7<sup>11</sup>.

קִשַּׁת רוּחַ 1 S. 1<sup>16</sup> (but קִשַּׁת יוֹם = ἡ σκληρὰ ἡμέρα).

Many would include other passages given under (3) under this head; but it seems best to put no more here, under a meaning proper only to נַפֶּשׁ, than may be necessary.

(6) רוּחַ is used occasionally for the seat or organ of mental acts, either || לֵב or synonymous with it, by late writers:

רוּחַ חִכְמָה, spirit of wisdom Ex. 28<sup>8</sup> Dt. 34<sup>9</sup> (both P); but prob. (3)(g);  
יָדְעוּ חֲטֵי רוּחַ בִּינָה (י), they that err in spirit shall know understanding Is. 29<sup>24</sup>;  
רוּחַ מִבִּינָתִי יַעֲנֵנִי, (the) spirit out of my understanding answereth me Job 20<sup>8</sup>

(but Hi. Bud. Duhm, *wind* of Job's words as compared with the understanding of his friends);

רוּחִי יִחַפֵּשׁ (י), my spirit searcheth ψ 77<sup>7</sup>

(but 𐤀, Sym. S, Jer. ואחפש, and I searched my spirit, my troubled, agitated disposition);

מִי־תֵבֶן אֶת־רוּחַ יְהוָה, who hath measured the spirit of Yahweh, Is. 40<sup>13</sup>

(the divine intelligence; so most interpreters, but Che.: the divine Spirit as the creative agent after the example of Gen. 1<sup>1</sup>);

מַעֲלֹת רוּחְכֶם אֲנִי יֹדַעְתִּיהָ, I know the things that come into your mind (memory)  
Ez. 11<sup>6</sup>;

הַעֲלָה עַל־רוּחְכֶם Ez. 20<sup>32</sup>;

cf.

עָלָה עַל־לֵב Is. 65<sup>17</sup> Jer. 3<sup>16</sup> +;

כָּל אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּרוּחַ עִמּוֹ, all that he had in his spirit (mind) 1 Chr. 28<sup>12</sup>.

(7) רוּחַ refers rarely to inclinations, resolutions, and determinations of the will; also = לֵב:

רוּחַ נָכוֹן, steadfast spirit ψ 51<sup>12</sup> = לֵב נָכוֹן ψ 57<sup>8. 8</sup> (= 108<sup>2</sup>) 78<sup>37</sup> 112<sup>7</sup>;

רוּחַ נְדִיבָה ψ 51<sup>14</sup>; נְדִיבָה רוּחִי Ex. 35<sup>21</sup> (P);

cf.

לב, willing of mind Ex. 35<sup>5</sup>. 22 (P) 2 Chr. 29<sup>81</sup>.(8) רוח *with special reference to moral character; also = לב* :רוח חדש, new spirit Ez. 11<sup>19</sup> 18<sup>31</sup> 36<sup>26</sup>;רוחי, my spirit (that of Yahweh as given by him) Ez. 36<sup>27</sup>;Is. 59<sup>21</sup> (רוחי || רוחי) ; but prob. prophetic spirit (9) (δ) ;לב חדש Ez. 18<sup>31</sup> 36<sup>26</sup>;נבה רוח, stricken in spirit Is. 66<sup>2</sup>; רבאי רוח, contrite in spirit ψ 34<sup>19</sup>;

cf.

לב נדבאים Is. 57<sup>15</sup>;משבר רוח, from breaking of spirit Is. 65<sup>14</sup>; cf. (3) (f);רוח נשברה, broken spirit ψ 51<sup>19</sup>;

cf.

לב נשקר ψ 51<sup>19</sup>;לב נשברי Is. 61<sup>1</sup> ψ 34<sup>19</sup>;אין קרוחו רמיה, in whose spirit is no guile ψ 32<sup>2</sup>;נאמן רוח, faithful in spirit Prov. 11<sup>18</sup>;נבה רוח Prov. 16<sup>18</sup>;נאמנה את-אל רוחו ψ 78<sup>8</sup>;נבה רוח Ec. 7<sup>8</sup>;

cf.

נבה לב Prov. 16<sup>5</sup>;שפל רוח Prov. 16<sup>19</sup> 29<sup>23</sup> Is. 57<sup>15</sup>;רוח שפלים Is. 57<sup>15</sup>; cf. (3) (f).(9) *The Spirit of God* is used 94 times. It is not found in D of Hexateuch, or in Jeremiah, or in any Deuteronomic writer; probably because the earliest conception of the activity of the divine spirit in inspiring the ecstatic state of prophecy had become discredited because of its abuse by false prophets. (See נביא, נבא, in BDB.)(a) *As inspiring the ecstatic state of prophecy* :

Yahweh took of the spirit (רוח), which rested upon Moses, Nu. 11<sup>17</sup>. 25 (J), and put it upon seventy elders of Israel, v. 29; and when it rested upon them and upon two who were absent, v. 26, they all prophesied in the ecstatic state, v. 25.

The רוח יהוה rushed (צלח) upon Saul, 1 S. 10<sup>6</sup> = רוח אלהים, v. 10; and he prophesied in the ecstatic state (cf. v. 5).

יְהוָה עַל-מִלְאכֵי שָׁאוּל רוח אלהים 1 S. 19<sup>20</sup>

(and so the messengers of Saul were thrown into the ecstatic state). The same phrase is used for Saul himself, v.<sup>23</sup>.

But Saul was also incited to deeds of frenzy especially against David while in the ecstatic state; and so the divine spirit, because of the mischief which was attempted, is conceived as רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים רָעָה 1 S. 16<sup>15, 16</sup>, and it falls upon him (בָּעֵת), v.<sup>15</sup> = רוּחַ = צִלַּח רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים רָעָה v.<sup>14</sup> = רוּחַ מֵאֵת יְהוָה (other narrative) = רוּחַ יְהוָה רָעָה 1 S. 19<sup>9</sup>; רוּחַ departs from Saul when David soothes him by music, 1 S. 16<sup>23</sup>: so also 1 Ki. 22<sup>21</sup>, רוּחַ = שָׁקַר רוּחַ v.<sup>22, 23</sup> (= 2 Chr. 18<sup>20, 21, 22</sup>) = רוּחַ יְהוָה v.<sup>24</sup> (= 2 Chr. 18<sup>23</sup>), because the spirit excited the false prophet when in the ecstatic state to deceive the king of Israel. At this period biblical ethics had not advanced so far as to regard deception and violent deeds as immoral even when instigated by the divine spirit.

In the earlier prophets אִישׁ הָרוּחַ, *man of the spirit*, is a man possessed by the spirit and in the ecstatic state || הַנְּבִיאָה Ho. 9<sup>7</sup>. רוּחַ יְהוָה (|| בָּתָּה) Mi. 3<sup>8</sup> is probably a gloss (so Wellhausen, Nowack).

וְלֹא רוּחִי, but not by my spirit (speaking through prophets) Is. 30<sup>1</sup>.

The רוּחַ entered into Ezekiel (בָּא בְּ), and made him stand upon his feet, Ez. 2<sup>2</sup> 3<sup>24</sup>; fell upon him (נָפַל עָלָיו), 11<sup>5</sup>; lifted him up (נִשָּׂא), 3<sup>12</sup>; and so either took him away (לָקַח), 3<sup>14</sup>, or brought him (הֵבִיא) to the temple, 11<sup>1</sup> 43<sup>5</sup>; or to Jerusalem in visions of God (בְּמַרְאֹת אֱלֹהִים), 8<sup>3</sup>; or to Chaldea (בְּמַרְאֵה) in a vision, בְּרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים (this a gloss Cornill, at least בְּרוּחַ) 11<sup>24</sup>: also it brought him into a valley of vision, בְּרוּחַ יְהוָה 37<sup>1</sup>. All these statements of Ezekiel imply the ecstatic state of visions.

So the רוּחַ יְהוָה lifted up (נִשָּׂא) Elijah, 1 Ki. 18<sup>12</sup> 2 Ki. 2<sup>16</sup>.

(b) *In later times a higher conception of prophecy arose, implying more than the use of the ecstatic state and dreams, that is, speaking instruction and warning under the impulse of the divine spirit.* Probably the transition is in such passages as Nu. 24<sup>2</sup>, where the אֱלֹהִים רוּחַ

comes upon Balaam when he utters his prophetic song; 2 S. 23<sup>2</sup>, where רוח יהוה speaks in David (דבר ק) a sacred song; and 1 Chr. 12<sup>18</sup> where the spirit clothed itself with (רוח לבשה) Amasai.

This higher conception is also involved in other historical references of the Chronicler:

רוח אלהים לבש 2 Chr. 24<sup>20</sup>; רוח אלהים היה על 2 Chr. 15<sup>1</sup>;  
רוח יהוה היה על 2 Chr. 20<sup>14</sup>;

It is distinct and definite, however, in Second Isaiah when the prophet represents that Yahweh has sent him with His spirit, Is. 48<sup>16</sup>; and the great Messianic preacher is represented as saying:

רוח אלהי יהוה עלי (אלי not in LXX, N.T.; a gloss), the spirit of Yahweh is upon me Is. 61<sup>1</sup>.

By his spirit Yahweh sent his words through the ancient prophets, Zech. 7<sup>12</sup>; and testified against Israel, Neh. 9<sup>30</sup>. In the last days Yahweh will pour out (שפך) his spirit on all flesh and endow all classes, ages, sexes, and conditions of men with the varied forms of the prophetic gift, Joel 3<sup>1,2</sup>.

(c) *The divine spirit imparts to the heroic leaders of Israel their warlike energy, and executive and administrative power:*

(a) Upon the מלכים, מושיעים, שפטים, of ancient Israel:

ויתחל רוח יהוה לשפוט Ju. 13<sup>26</sup>; ויתחל רוח יהוה על Ju. 3<sup>10</sup> 11<sup>29</sup>;  
רוח יהוה לבשה Ju. 6<sup>34</sup>;  
ויתחל רוח יהוה על Ju. 14<sup>6, 19</sup> 15<sup>14</sup> 1 S. 16<sup>13</sup> (על error for אל);  
ויתחל רוח אלהים על 1 S. 11<sup>6</sup>.

So it departed from Saul (רוח יהוה קרה מעם) when it came upon David, 1 S. 16<sup>14</sup> [and when the frenzied, ecstatic state instigated by the spirit came upon him: see above (a)].

So also:

עד יצרה (על) רוח מפורם, until a spirit is poured out from on high

(that is, to endow the people with the gifts of government, so that justice and righteousness shall prevail) Is. 32<sup>15</sup>.

- (β) From this point of view נָחָה רוּחַ יְהוָה upon the Messianic king in its varied endowments :

רוּחַ חֲכָמָה וּבִינָה  
רוּחַ עֲזָה וְנִבְרָה  
רוּחַ יִשְׁתַּי וְיִרְאֵת יְהוָה

The spirit of wisdom and understanding,  
The spirit of counsel and might,  
The spirit of knowledge and the fear of Yahweh Is. 11<sup>2</sup>.

So of his servant Yahweh says :

נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו  
מִשְׁפָּט לְגוֹיִם יוֹצֵא

I have put my spirit upon him;  
Justice to the nations he will bring forth Is. 42<sup>1</sup>.

- (d) *The divine spirit also endows others with various gifts and capacities (a late conception).*

It endowed the workmen with technical skill to construct the tabernacle and its furnishings :

מִלֵּא אֹתוֹ רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים Ex. 31<sup>8</sup> 35<sup>31</sup> (P);

It makes a man to have understanding, endows him with it, entering into him :

אִכֵּן רוּחַ הוּא בָאֵנֶשׁ  
וְנִשְׁמַת שְׂדֵי תְבִינָם Job 32<sup>8</sup>.

(הוּא is probably an error, possibly for אֵל || שְׂדֵי ; see Budde.

The רוּחַ || נִשְׁמַת שְׂדֵי || רוּחַ certainly is the divine spirit.)

The divine Wisdom pours out the divine spirit (אֲבִיעֵדָה) (רוּחִי לְ) for those who undertake her discipline, Pr. 1<sup>23</sup>.

- (e) *The divine spirit is the energy of life :* and so hovered over the primitive abyss with creative energy :

רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֵם עַל־פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם Gen. 1<sup>2</sup> (P).

The divine spirit made man :

רוּחַ אֵל עָשָׂה־נִי  
וְנִשְׁמַת שְׂדֵי תְחִנִּי Job 33<sup>4</sup>.

It is the vital power in the בָּשָׂר in antithesis with the בָּשָׂר :

מִצָּרִים אָדָם וְלֹא־אֵל  
וְסוֹסֵי־בָשָׂר וְלֹא־רוּחַ Is. 31<sup>8</sup>.

It is the energy of life in the cherubic chariot of the theophany :

אֵל אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה שָׁמָּה רוּחַ לִלְכָת יֵלְכוּ, whither the spirit was to go, they went Ez. 1<sup>12</sup>;

cf. 1<sup>20</sup>;

כִּי רוּחַ חַיָּה בְּאֵשְׁתֵּימָם, for the spirit of life was in the wheels Ez. 1<sup>20, 21</sup>;

cf. 10<sup>17</sup>.

It is the energy of life giving a revival to the people in the last days, when Yahweh will pour out (שָׁפַךְ) his spirit upon the house of Israel, Ez. 39<sup>29</sup>; upon the house of David :

אֶצֶק רוּחִי עַל דָּוִד Is. 44<sup>3</sup>; שָׁפַךְ רוּחַ חַיָּה עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל Zech. 12<sup>10</sup>;

(f) *The divine spirit is identified with the angel of the presence of ancient history and the Shekina of later times.*

The divine spirit is רוּחַ יְהוָה Is. 63<sup>10, 11</sup> = רוּחַ קְדֹשׁוֹ v. 14, and is identified with the מַלְאָךְ פָּנָיו v. 9, the theophanic angel who led Israel in the wilderness and was grieved when they rebelled against him. Cf.

הֵמָּרָה אָתָּה רוּחִי ψ 106<sup>28</sup>, they rebelled against his spirit.

So we must interpret רוּחַ קְדֹשׁוֹ ψ 51<sup>13</sup>, the only other passage where the term occurs as referring to the presence of Yahweh in the midst of his people.

רוּחַ קְדֹשׁוֹ אֵל תִּמְנָח מִמֶּנִּי

The prayer is a national one and not that of an individual. Similarly Nehemiah says :

רוּחְךָ הַטּוֹבָה נָתַתָּ לְהַשְׁבִּילָם, thy good (benignant) spirit thou didst give to instruct them, Neh. 9<sup>20</sup>

(that is, when He led Israel up out of Egypt to the holy land by the pillar of cloud and fire).

So we must interpret ψ 143<sup>10</sup> also of the presence of Yahweh :

רוּחְךָ טוֹבָה תִּנְחֵנִי בְּאֶרֶץ מִישׁוֹר, thy good (kind) spirit leadeth me in a level land.

So the prophets of the Restoration conceive of the divine spirit as standing in their midst and about to fulfil all divine promises :

רוּחִי לְמַדָּת בְּתוֹכְכֶם Hg. 2<sup>6</sup>;

לֹא בְהֵיל וְלֹא בִכְחַ כִּי אִם בְּרוּחִי, not by an army, and not by power, but on the contrary by my spirit Zech. 4<sup>6</sup>.

The culmination of the conception is in the identification of the רוּחַ with the divine Presence, and as such omnipresent :

אֵנִי אֵלֶּךְ מִרוּחֶךָ  
וְאֵנִי מִפְּנֵיךְ אֶבְרַח  
אִם־אֶסַּק שָׁמַיִם שָׁם אַתָּה  
וְאִם־אֶעָלֶה שְׁאוֹל הִנֵּנִי

Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?

Or whither shall I flee from thy Presence?

If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there :

If I make my bed in Sheol, behold, thou art there ψ 139<sup>7-8</sup>.

## The Ethical Method of Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

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SOME fifty years ago, two divines carried on a discussion in a Boston journal, respecting the claims of Jesus to the allegiance of men. The one who rested his supremacy on his *teachings* adduced, as the crowning proof, Jesus' condensation of the whole code of ethics into what is known as the "Golden Rule." His opponent—who was disposed to find the distinctive work of Jesus in quite a different field—brought forward as a counter argument the fact that this same summary of social duties is found in Confucius. He received the rejoinder that in Confucius the Golden Rule appears in a negative form, while our Lord puts it positively; and there the discussion ceased,—leaving the impression that Christ's transcendence as an ethical teacher consisted mainly in the wise omission of a "not."

Since that time, to be sure, the Golden Rule for substance has been found, in both positive and negative form, not only in Confucius, but in writings by the score belonging to the literatures of many ages and many lands.<sup>2</sup> And, though the emphasis laid upon one aspect or another of the mission of Jesus has shifted with the years, yet with the recognition of his function as a "teacher"—brought into legitimate prominence (as it soon will be) by the substitution of "Teacher"

<sup>1</sup> The following paper, which is printed by request, was prepared as an address before a college "Biblical Club," and, by its cast throughout, gives evidence of having been written for a popular audience rather than for scholarly readers. Indeed, the professional reader will doubtless detect once and again that unacknowledged use of professional works which every teacher allows himself in the classroom, and for which he cannot always, if he would, express his indebtedness. In dealing with the Parables, however, the writer gratefully acknowledges the aid derived from Professor Jülicher's recent volume (*Die Gleichnisreden Jesu, Zweiter Theil*, Freiburg i. B., 1899), although he finds himself unable to follow the Professor in the rigorous application of the principle there advocated.

<sup>2</sup> For an ingenious attempt to defend the practical superiority of the negative form, as "more fundamental, going deeper to the heart of the problem," see Abrahams and Montefiore, *Aspects of Judaism*, London, 1895, pp. 67 ff.

for "Master" more than forty times in our vernacular version, and by the more correct idea of the New Testament synagogues as not only places of worship but of instruction also — homage to Jesus as the world's Great Teacher of Righteousness will certainly not wane. The enlarged view of the historic relations of his teaching which research has brought has tempted occasionally an eccentric thinker like Buckle to deny his originality; or a patriotic Jew like Rodrigues to attempt to disprove it by the fragmentary parallels to the Sermon on the Mount which may be gathered from the *hortus siccus* of rabbinical lore.

I. Of late, however, the centre of interest has shifted from the origin of his teachings to the more important question of their application. How are they to be understood? and how are they to be put to use amid the changed circumstances, the complicated relations, the clashing claims of modern life? These are the inquiries which exercise thoughtful minds.

With some, the answer is as ready as it is brief: his words are to be taken to the letter, and applied without flinching. The Golden Rule, one recent writer tells us, is "the charter of Christian society"; nothing but the degeneracy of "institutional Christianity," with its misguided adherents, obstructs the establishment of the Kingdom.

But one wonders whether the most loyal literalist would not be somewhat shaken in his theory, if the Golden Rule were quoted to him just as he was turning over to the police the man whose hand he had found in his pocket.

Another insists that the Sermon on the Mount is the authoritative compend of Christian conduct, the sum of the Gospel, the intended basis of the ideal Christian commonwealth. "It sustains the same relation to the universal society as the legislation of Moses sustained to the Jewish society. . . . It is the divinest law-making that has been done, or doubtless can be done, for the sons of men."<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, we have current manuals of ethics denying without qualification the legitimacy of an oath; men like Professor Mahaffy defending the strictest non-resistance; public leaders like the late George W. Curtis putting to his audiences such questions as this: "When you send your boy away to school, do you say to him, 'My son, if a boy abuses you and strikes you, don't strike him back, but get down there on your knees and *pray* for him'? If not, with what right do you call yourself a Christian?"

<sup>3</sup> Herron, *The Christian Society*, pp. 52, 54.

Now, a morbid fidelity to a misjudging theory may occasionally constrain some inexperienced Christian to attempt to carry out notions like these; but, in the long run, the native good sense of men triumphs over subtleties, even though they seem strong as Holy Writ. Like Paul's dissuasive from marriage, they are read—and neglected.

Yet, even when they are practically disregarded, they are apt to leave a misgiving lurking in the mind. Many an aspiring student of our Lord's teachings finds himself losing his ardor for research, and acquiescing—not without a sense of disappointment, perhaps, and personal disapproval—in the interpretations embodied in the current practices of the Christians about him. This easy-going acquiescence, however, this disregard of scruples and blunting of the moral sensibility, must be resisted, or it will prove fatal to the soul's growth.

Probably few persons are stumbled by such a judgment as a prominent English writer<sup>4</sup> has not hesitated to broach, *viz.* that our Lord's teaching can never find general following, for he inculcates improvidence, destructive of organized society: he says, "Take no thought for the morrow." For this stricture convicts its author, not only of neglect of the Greek, but of ignorance of his mother tongue,—the word "thought," in its earlier use, being tantamount to "anxiety." So Saul says to the servant with whom he had been looking in vain for his father's asses, "Come, let us return; lest my father leave caring for the asses and take thought for us" (1 Sam. 9<sup>5</sup>).

The unqualified prohibition of oaths, however, presents us with a more delicate problem. Some weight is probably due to the circumstance that the very specifications given—"Swear not at all; neither by the heaven, for it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of his feet; nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King; neither shalt thou swear by thy head, for thou canst not make one hair white or black"—suggest a limitation of the reference; the oaths specified being samples of those current in ordinary intercourse. Common conversation abounded in them. It was these needless appeals in social intercourse to things sacred which Jesus seems here to be particularly forbidding.

Moreover, the Jew was taught by his law that an oath derived special sanctity from the use of the name of God. Hence, all forms of oaths which did not involve that name were tolerated. Philo (*de spec. legibus*, vol. v. i. § 1) accordingly commends those who, when

<sup>4</sup> Greg, *Creed of Christendom*, vol. i., p. lxxvii.

compelled to swear, say merely, "Yes, by the —," or, "No, by the —," adding nothing more, but giving emphasis by mutilating the usual form and not expressly uttering an oath. But let him add, if he chooses (Philo continues), not the highest and primal cause of all things, but the earth, sun, stars, heaven, the universe. Hence, it was customary to swear by the temple, the altar, the lamb, the dishes, *etc.*; and such oaths were reckoned to be "nothing" (Mt. 23<sup>16, 18</sup>). It was these frivolous distinctions, you remember, on which fell one of the scathing "Woes" of the twenty-third chapter of Matthew.

Unqualified, however, as the language is, both in the Sermon on the Mount and its repetition in the Epistle of James, the general belief among Christians, almost from the first, that it admits of some legitimate limitation, has found warrant not only in Paul's repeated and gratuitous calling God to witness that he spoke the truth, but in the fact that our Lord himself consented at his trial to speak under oath; and that even the Most High, since he could swear by none greater, swore by himself (Heb. 6<sup>13</sup>).

But this confronts us with the inquiry why our Lord expressed himself thus without restriction? If there are exceptions, why not specify them, or, at least, recognize their possible existence?

The answer is to be found, I suspect, in the fact that Jesus is not intent on giving *precepts*; but would lay emphasis on *principles*. The distinction between the two is most important. A precept is a direction respecting a given action; it is definite, precise, specific, fitting and belonging to particular cases. A principle, on the other hand, is comprehensive and fundamental; it prescribes, not particular actions, but a course of conduct; it is the source whence precepts are derived; it dictates a general moral state, and so makes the man, in a sense, his own legislator. A precept bids him *do*, a principle trains him to *be*; and so begets that inwardness and continuity which are essential to character.

Now, in Christ's day, punctilious obedience to precepts was the characteristic of Pharisaism, the prevalent type of reputed piety. Recall the details respecting washings, given in Mark's gospel—accompanied, as they were, according to a later writer, by fifteen prescribed forms of prayer; remember the ridiculous scrupulosity in the tithing of potherbs, and other petty external observances which Jesus denounced. One method which he adopted of subverting this externalism—alike oppressive and destructive to true morality as it was—consisted in bold, ethical utterances, embodying some obvious duty, but stated so absolutely and impressively, falling on the hearer's

mind with such massive force, as to benumb the spirit of cavilling and evasion. Temporal trivialities are swallowed up of spiritual grandeur, and the lesson remains forever impressed on the memory.

In this sweeping prohibition of oaths, for instance, the mention of exceptions would have turned the hearer's thought the wrong way, and weakened the prohibition. The utterance was a wise counter-active to the frivolous devices by which swearing was legitimated. If, perchance, it should lead an occasional reader into error, it would lead him to err on the safe side. For oaths, when not in themselves wrong, may easily *lead* to wrong — as every custom-house official to this day can testify. The Saviour's statement is not a rule to be blindly followed, not a direction to be mechanically applied regardless of consequences, but the inculcation of a reverent frame of mind ; and, consequently, as wholesome as it is axiomatic.

The like considerations may guide us to a correct estimate of the associated teachings of our Lord : — as, for instance, " I say unto you, that every one who is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment ; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the Council ; and whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of the hell of fire." Here the commentators have perplexed themselves and their readers through futile attempts to measure the gradation of the specified offences by the grades of penalty attached to them : — why is it so much more heinous (they ask) to call a man a " fool " than to call him " empty-pate " (the probable meaning of " Raca " ), that while the latter has his punishment assigned him by the Supreme Court, the former is consigned to perdition ? But no stress is to be laid on the supposed gradation. It marks merely the progress of anger from emotion to expression. Moreover, to a Jew's thought, even the civil tribunals and penalties were in a just sense divine. I have heard, indeed, of a Christian mother who would tolerate in her bickering children a pretty copious vocabulary of hard names, but if one called another a " fool " it was all up with him. How she explained to herself the application of the term by Christ, not only to the Scribes and Pharisees, but also to his own disciples after the resurrection, and its plump personal use in argument by Paul, does not appear. One has more sympathy with the somewhat acrid conclusion of the theologian who said, " The all-wise Creator must have some good use for fools, He has made so many of them."

So again, when Jesus says : " But I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil : but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to

him the other also. . . . Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." The policy of non-resistance and unrestricted giving here inculcated has been followed to the letter occasionally, as we know, by whole bodies of men, and from time to time finds advocacy by persons whose judgment carries with it more or less weight. To be sure, we only smile at the professional non-resistant who, on being forcibly removed when interrupting religious services of which he disapproves, transforms himself into a dead weight of two hundred pounds or so. And we can understand how men like Tolstoi, who would subvert the structure of existing society, can advocate the rigorous enforcement of these words. But here, again, such an interpretation disregards the circumstance that Paul, when smitten on the mouth by order of the religious head of his nation (Acts 23<sup>rd</sup>), so far from inviting a second blow, exhibited an unmistakable desire for retaliation in kind: "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall"; and Jesus himself, when struck under similar circumstances (Jn. 18<sup>th</sup>), showed his resentment by the retort, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?" And the theorists of every sort forget that they are safe in the indulgence of their vagaries, because the constituted authorities protect them in person and property against the indiscriminate outrage and robbery which, taking men as they are, would ensue as soon as a general adoption of Christ's words as the strict rule of action was avowed.

The rigorous adherence to the letter of these and similar sayings which, under the guise of heroic faith, has a singular fascination for certain minds, ought to be troubled with misgivings when it ponders the terms in which the duty of self-restraint is here inculcated: "And if thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: . . . And if thy right hand causeth thee to stumble, cut it off, and cast it from thee." Surely Jesus does not mean to teach that physical mutilation is tantamount to moral conquest; that sin resides in the body; that cherished lust is not independent of the criminal look, — *he* who insisted so emphatically that it is "from *within*, out of the *heart* of men, that proceed evil thoughts, fornications, thefts, murders, adulteries . . . an evil eye," and the like (Mk. 7<sup>th</sup>).

No; the instances we have been considering are but illustrations of one phase of his ethical method. He takes such cases as are made familiar by everyday life, the ruling motive in which is unmistakable, and sets in glaring contrast with them the *principle* which ought to have sway over act, and word, and thought.

And how does the discernment of Him who knew what was in man disclose itself, when he directs us to interrupt even an act of worship in order to seek reconciliation! The calmness and sacred suggestions of the occasion quicken compunction, and expose the incongruity of the worshipper's asking from God what he himself has not granted to his fellow-man. Yet how would many a Christian congregation be forthwith depleted if the Master's direction were obeyed to the letter!

II. Another characteristic of the ethical method of Jesus comes to view in the fact that he did not make an indiscriminate onset upon the existing constitution of society. He did not distribute men into two groups, "the Classes" and "the Masses" (to borrow Gladstone's phrase). He did not exhort to associated action. He did not exhibit marked preference for any grade of society or the representatives of any social position. He recognized a man's obligations to others as well as to himself; but he dealt primarily with *individuals as such*, quite irrespective of rank or station.

The contrary opinion has, as you know, found considerable currency in recent years. Among its early and prominent representatives stands Renan. Jesus, according to this French writer, was an amiable idealist, longing to revolutionize the world, over which wealth and power tyrannize; a species of "anarchist" who would abolish the "abuse of government," and reverse existing relations. With him the word "poor" (*πτωχός*, *ebion*) was the synonym of "saint"; and the renunciation of private ownership was demanded of those who would become heirs of the Kingdom. (*Vie*, 14<sup>me</sup> éd. pp. 120, 123, 129, 131-133, 180, 186, etc.). In short, Renan seems disposed to echo the revolutionist Camille Desmoulin's designation of Jesus as *Le bon sans-culotte*, and to regard him as the typical man of the new sociology. Similar opinions are still loudly reiterated by a certain class of social reformers in this country as well as in Europe.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the Gospel of Luke, where they are thought to find unequivocal support, is said to have been circulated in France as a Socialist tract.

Now, the popular notion which makes of Jesus himself a penniless itinerant, with a band of poor fishermen as his attendants, encounters sundry qualifying indications even in the Evangelic story.<sup>6</sup> There is no hint, for example, that he, during his ministry, ever supported himself

<sup>5</sup> See W. Walsh, *Jesus the Demagogue*, in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1896.

<sup>6</sup> In the treatment of this branch of the subject free use has been made of the facts as brought together in the excellent monograph of C. Rogge, *Der irdische Besitz im Neuen Testament*, Göttingen, 1897, pp. 120.

by practising, like Paul, his handicraft. He has at Capernaum apparently an open house (Mk. 2<sup>1</sup> 9<sup>33</sup> 10<sup>10</sup>) and an attendant boat (Mk. 3<sup>9</sup> 6<sup>32,35</sup> 8<sup>10</sup>). He is a guest at feasts (Lk. 5<sup>29</sup> 7<sup>36</sup> 11<sup>37</sup> 14<sup>1</sup>); and takes at least some of his disciples with him on such occasions (Lk. 5<sup>30</sup> Jn. 2<sup>2</sup>). And certainly not all the apostles belonged to the indigent class: the father of James and John had partners, hired assistants, boats, and a house (Mk. 1<sup>30</sup>), and the account which Josephus gives of the fisheries of the Sea of Galilee proves that the business must have been lucrative.<sup>7</sup> Matthew, the customs official, shows by the great feast he made Jesus on becoming a disciple, that his pecuniary condition corresponded probably with that which, according to modern experience, the calling suggests. The misinterpretation put by some of the twelve on the words spoken to Judas at the Last Supper—"what thou doest do quickly"—which "some thought" was an intimation "that he should give something to the poor," indicates that their means were sufficient not merely to meet their ordinary wants, but to permit gifts in charity. Nay, the direction given (according to all four Evangelists), when more than five thousand people had come together in a lonely spot to hear him, "Give ye them to eat" (Mt. 14<sup>16</sup> Mk. 6<sup>37</sup> Lk. 9<sup>13</sup>), would have had a tone of bitter mockery if there were known to be nothing in the treasury.

We are told, indeed, of Levi (Lk. 5<sup>27,28</sup>), prior to the account of the "great feast in his house," that he "forsook all and followed Jesus"; and the same statement is made in the case of Peter and Andrew, James and John (Mt. 4<sup>18,19,21,22</sup>); and that fact is subsequently brought forward by Peter as the basis of a claim for reward (Mt. 19<sup>27</sup>). It is "into the house of Simon and Andrew" that Jesus comes after the miracle in the synagogue of Capernaum, when he cures "Simon's wife's mother." The phrase "they left all," therefore, must not be pressed to mean 'they utterly stripped themselves of earthly possessions,' but understood as signifying 'they quit the business in which they were engaged,' 'changed their whole mode of life.'

It is true that Jesus, in his answer to the deputation from John, specifies, as the crowning proof of his Messianic mission, that "the poor have good tidings preached to them," in evident allusion to the same prophetic passage which was read by him in the synagogue at Nazareth. And other passages which seem to favor the view of those who maintain that he insisted on poverty as essential to discipleship, are such as these: (Mt. 8<sup>20</sup>) "The foxes have holes and the birds of

<sup>7</sup> See Merrill, *Galilee in the Time of Christ*, Boston, 1881, pp. 40 f.

the air have haunts; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." (Lk. 14<sup>33</sup>) "Whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple." (Mt. 19<sup>27</sup>) "Verily I say unto you, It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." (Lk. 6<sup>24</sup>) "Blessed are ye poor," says Luke, — not "poor in spirit"; "Blessed are ye that hunger now," — not "hunger and thirst after righteousness"; and this Evangelist adds "woes" (ch. 6<sup>24-26</sup>): "Woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you, ye that are full now! for ye shall hunger." Moreover, the stories of the foolish rich man who planned to pull down his barns and build greater; and the rich man at whose gate the beggar Lazarus was laid, make at first glance the impression that the rich are the wicked, and the poor the good. Both these stories are peculiar to Luke; who, as we have seen, connects with external condition the blessings which Matthew connects with an inward state.

But in estimating the alleged "communism" of our Lord's teaching several things must be taken into consideration: (1) In the first place, to the Jewish mind worldly prosperity was of itself proof of divine favor;<sup>8</sup> hence, admonitions designed to thwart its deceitfulness were especially incumbent on a spiritual teacher like Jesus. (2) The orthodox Pharisaic legalism was of such a type that only the well-to-do could meet its requirements. Appropriately, therefore, does Luke (16<sup>14</sup>) describe the Pharisees as "lovers of money." They devoured widows' houses while for a pretence making long prayers. Through confiding sons they laid their greedy clutch on everything they could, as "Corban" — 'dedicated to God' — even though they thus left the parents to starve. (3) Again, the term "poor" carried with it to the current thought of that day suggestions of meanness and contempt. One of the commonest Greek synonyms for 'poor' (*πτωχός*, 'crouching') "always," the philologists tell us (Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* I. 2), "had a bad sense till it was ennobled in the Gospels." In speaking special words of comfort to this class, our Lord was but attesting his divine mission, agreeably to the description of the Psalmist (35<sup>10</sup>): "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, which deliverest the poor from him that is too strong for him, yea, the poor and the needy from him that spoileth him." (4) In those days, further, the "poor" were

<sup>8</sup> See for example Enoch, ch. xcvi. 4 (ed. Charles, Oxford, 1893): "Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous, but your hearts convict you of being sinners."

the victims of constant ill treatment alike from tyrannical rulers and especially from rich and lawless neighbors. The attitude of these classes toward the poor is graphically described by the Son of Sirach (13<sup>18f</sup>): "What peace is there between the hyena and the dog? And what peace between the rich man and the poor? Wild asses are the prey of lions in the wilderness; so poor men are pasture for the rich." Pertinently does James in his Epistle appeal to his fellow-Christians: "Do not the rich oppress you, and is it not they who drag you into the courts? Is it not they that blaspheme the honorable name by the which ye are called? . . . Did not God choose the poor as to the world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him?" It was a veritable Evangel, then, that addressed itself particularly to the poor; and those were timely and wholesome warnings which by their sweeping boldness startled the rich from their security and revealed to them the folly of their trust in riches.

The story of the rich fool teaches the lesson, apposite in every age, that the man with superabundant worldly possessions will prove to be finally and forever poor, if he has nothing else. The inference from the parable of the rich man and Lazarus that "wealth is sin," a notion as old certainly as the second century,<sup>9</sup> is often met by injecting into the story unwarranted assumptions respecting the contrasted moral character of the rich man and the beggar. But of this Jesus says not a word. He portrays the character of neither party. That the rich man dies unrepentant he himself, indeed, indirectly acknowledges by begging that his five brothers may be timely warned. But impenitence and penitence are not the invariable accompaniments of wealth and beggary. The parable cannot have been designed to convey any such fallacious notion. Evidently its emphasis lies upon the rich man—his life and his destiny. But *he* incurs condemnation not because he is rich, but because he uses his riches upon himself, employs it in a life of easy self-indulgence, indifferent to the most obvious and appealing needs of his fellows. He turns a deaf ear to the "cry of the human," and is less compassionate than the scavenger dogs. The perils of a life of self-indulgence are all the more impressively suggested because the rich man is not described as avaricious, dissolute, oppressive, given to any of the flagrant vices which not infrequently accompany great wealth. The closing reference to Moses and the

<sup>9</sup> Clem. hom. 15. 9: τὰ κτήματα ἁμαρτήματα, 'possessions are transgressions'; to the same purport speaks Renan (*Les Évangiles*, 275): "the rich man is always blameworthy; perdition is his certain destiny."

prophets shows that it is no more for want of incentive than for want of opportunity that the gifts of God are ruinously misused.

Matthew (8<sup>29</sup>) joins Luke (9<sup>58</sup>) in attributing to Jesus the description of his life quoted just now: "The foxes have burrows, and the birds of the air have haunts; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head"; and he describes the volunteer follower, to whom this saying was an answer, as "a scribe" — one of the upper classes. The circumstances of the case, therefore, as well as the indications already noted respecting the life of Jesus, show that he merely means that, in the fulfilment of his mission, he leads the life of a wanderer, not that he is in extreme poverty and never the recipient of hospitality. The answer is given to warn the scribe beforehand what he is to expect if he enters Christ's service. It bids him count the cost of the step he is proposing to take. It is no precept laid down as the ideal of life for every disciple; no test by which every one, in all lands and through all time, should try himself, who aspires to "walk in His steps."

But how about the young ruler (Mt. 19<sup>16</sup> Mk. 10<sup>17</sup> Lk. 18<sup>18</sup>), he whose zeal for eternal life brings him running to Jesus, and whose uprightness calls out the exceptional statement, "Jesus beholding him loved him." Why does Jesus impose the exacting requirement, "Go, sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me"? What clearer proof can we have that Jesus required as the condition of discipleship complete renunciation of earthly possessions? He emphasizes, too, the lesson taught by the sorrowful departure of the applicant, by the saying about the difficulty of a rich man's entering into the Kingdom.

The answer is obvious. This is a special demand, made of a particular individual, whose personal, spiritual needs Jesus—as the event showed—discerned with true insight. It is no more to be made the standard of action for every rich man than the indiscriminate almsgiving, which the last part of the command seems to inculcate, is to be taken as the type of true benevolence in Christ's opinion. Like other of our Lord's utterances, that direction has been misused; as it was, indeed, by St. Anthony, "the father of asceticism," as he is called. Happening to hear the words in church when eighteen years old, and shortly after the death of his parents, he gave away all his patrimony—and his sister's too, apparently—and lived in isolated indigence till his death at the age of 105. As wisely might every one who aspires to become a son of Abraham offer up his first-born—as a certain Mr. Freeman in Plymouth County attempted to do a few years ago—or swell the great army of tramps by "getting him out from his country and kin-

dred (Gen. 12<sup>1</sup>), not knowing whither" (Heb. 11<sup>8</sup>). The "rich chief publican" Zacchaeus, in his formal profession of faith (*σταθεῖς*, Lk. 19<sup>8</sup>), only makes over half of his goods to the poor (although he promises fourfold recompense to those whom he has wronged), and receives the commendation "To-day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham."

It should be noticed that this interview with the rich young ruler is recorded not by Luke alone, but by all three of the Synoptists; and all three preserve the associated saying about the difficulty of entering the kingdom for those who have riches. These two items, therefore, must be deducted from the evidence on which some critics are disposed to charge Luke with favoring Ebionitic ideals of social life. His Gospel cannot be fairly called "the glorification of poverty" (Renan, *Les Évangiles* 275). So far as he shows any distinctive tendency to favor asceticism and encourage the renunciation of wealth (e.g. 6<sup>20, 24</sup> 12<sup>33 ff</sup>), it may be due (a) partly to that side of Christianity which appealed most strikingly and attractively to a mind approaching it from heathenism (witness the prominence he gives to the compassionate treatment of sinners and women);<sup>10</sup> and (b) partly to the rising of that extravagant communistic zeal, which soon spread widely in early Christian circles, reduced the church at Jerusalem to a condition of beggarly dependence,<sup>11</sup> and gave name to believers for generations.<sup>12</sup> Jesus did speak comfortably to the poor, for their need was and is special. He did utter warnings to wealth, for its perils were and are peculiar. It was to be renounced by the twelve (Lk. 12<sup>33 f.</sup>) as an obvious distraction and hindrance in their apostolic work. But he uttered no sweeping denunciation of private ownership. One whose life work is to minister is congruously enough the friend of publicans and sinners.

Equally untenable is the assertion that Jesus aimed to subvert the established organization of society; that his ministry was shaped by revolutionary designs against the existing order of things. His assertion in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5<sup>17</sup>) that he came "not to destroy

<sup>10</sup> "Luke might well be called the 'Evangelist of Philanthropy' if this word had not lost its sacredness. Such a Gospel became the man who had travelled much among Greeks and Romans with Paul, and who dedicated his work to a [person of station like] Theophilus." Herder, *Vom Erlöser der Menschen*. *Sämmtliche Werke*, 16<sup>ter</sup> Theil (1830), p. 284 (cf. Zahn, *Einkl.* ii. 392).

<sup>11</sup> Yet many of the modern representations of the primitive community of goods described in the Book of Acts are exaggerated, and neglect the counter indications imbedded in the narrative.

<sup>12</sup> "Quod plerique pauperes dicimur non est infamia nostra, sed gloria" (Minucius Felix, 36, 4). See Uhlhorn, *Ebioniten*, in R. E.<sup>2</sup>

but to fulfil," may possibly warrant the inference that some such charge had been early brought against him; and at his trial there were some who (according to Lk. 23<sup>2</sup>) alleged that he was "perverting the nation and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ, a king." But no proof of the charge is produced; and it is refuted by the threefold declaration of Pilate himself, "I find no fault in him" (Lk. 23<sup>4, 14, 22</sup>). Moreover, it conflicts with the fact that when the people, in their blind enthusiasm, would take him by force and enthrone him, he hid himself (Jn. 6<sup>10</sup>). True, in the same sermon he repeatedly — as we have already seen — contrasts his teaching with that given "to them of old time" (Mt. 5<sup>21</sup>, *etc.*). But the contrast finds its warrant and explanation largely in the traditional amplifications with which the Mosaic statutes had been encumbered; partly, too, in the readjustment which incrustated and petrified legislation requires to changed circumstances and new needs. The "new wine must be put into new bottles." In *principle*, however, he reaffirmed it: "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fall" (Lk. 16<sup>17</sup>). His quarrel with the hierarchy is that in their petty punctiliousness they "leave undone the weightier matters of the *law*, judgment and mercy and faith" (Mt. 23<sup>23</sup> Lk. 11<sup>40</sup>). His practical attitude toward the institutions of the times is shown by his declining to concern himself with the division of an inheritance; by the fact that he vindicates his alleged violations of the Sabbath by Old Testament precept and precedent; by his repeated injunction to cured lepers to secure forthwith the official priestly authentication, and make the prescribed offering; by his direction to Peter respecting the payment of the temple-tax; and especially by his reply to the combined delegation of Pharisees and Herodians sent to ensnare him with the artful question, "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not?" (Mk. 12<sup>14</sup> Mt. 22<sup>17</sup> Lk. 20<sup>20</sup>). To this question Jesus is sometimes erroneously said to have given an evasive answer. Far from it. By confronting them with one of their own coins — coins which, with all their Pharisaic scrupulousness, they were doubtless eager enough to accumulate — he convicts them of actually acknowledging the dominion of Cæsar, in common with all their fellow-subjects; yet at the same time he reminds them that there is a supreme sovereignty, fidelity to which is not inconsistent with secular citizenship. Christ's reply is a crushing *argumentum ad hominem*. The fancied dilemma turns out to be only an exposed plot.

III. But this incident, like the interview with the rich young man, directs attention to another phase of the ethical method of Jesus,

which must not be left unmentioned. I refer to its *specificness*. It is not general, abstract, academic, like the theoretical or casuistical discussions in the books; it is direct, personal, meeting — often with startling boldness, and what seems like perilous imprudence — the precise need of the moment.

Let us notice the illustration this characteristic finds in one or two parables, which have been thought to be of questionable character :

1. Take the Parable of the "Unrighteous Steward," which Luke has preserved for us in his sixteenth chapter. The steward of "a certain rich man" (you remember) has been accused to him of wasting his goods. On being called to account, and threatened with displacement, he, in his perplexity, makes friends of his master's debtors, and provides a hospitable reception for himself when thrown out of office by cutting down their dues, in one instance by half the amount, in another by far more than as much in value. In short, he atones for one offence by committing another : with the result that his shrewdness is "commended."

Now we need not (with certain interpreters — Bruce among them ; see *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, p. 585) aggravate the embarrassment of the case, by understanding "the lord" who utters the commendation to be the Lord Jesus : an interpretation opposed both by the immediately following mention of "the sons of the light," i.e. Christians, and by the emphatic "*I* say unto you," which distinguishes Jesus from "the lord" (or "master") of the steward. But the story, as it stands, has been a scandal to readers both in and out of the Christian church through the centuries. Some, otherwise mild and sympathetic judges, have said : "If Jesus spoke this parable as we have it — without the slightest hint of disapproval (but rather the reverse) for the reiterated and selfish fraud of the steward — then I must renounce allegiance to him as an ethical teacher" ; while others have been as downright in their censorious misjudgment of it as Renan, who extorts from it this conclusion (*Les Évangiles*, p. 276) : "In Christ's new kingdom, it will be worth more to a man to have made friends for himself among the poor, even by injustice, than to have been an upright trustee."

Loyalty to the truth forbids us to betake ourselves to any subterfuges or evasions : — as that the parable merely represents the steward as "accused" — whether correctly or not it does not say ; or that he is accused of "wasting his master's goods" ; but the wasting may not have been by dissipation, but in some creditable way — by lavishing them, for example, upon the poor. One supposition, how-

ever, in which some minds have found relief as respects the steward's character, is ingenious enough, perhaps, to be worth a passing mention. It is conjectured that, as the rich man's agent, he may have been invested with full power over his estates — to fix rents and exact dues. Consequently, in reducing for his own advantage the creditors' bonds, he is not adding fraud to fraud; but making some amends to them for former extortion. We have an account in Josephus (*Ant.* 12, 4, 7 *sq.*) of an actuary who was intrusted in this way with full control of his master's affairs; and from whom the master's son, on getting permission to ask for some ten pounds, extorted a thousand.

We gain little, however, by resorting to far-fetched suppositions in the case. For, resting on ignorance, they have validity only for minds that desire to believe them; and such a desire is tantamount to an indirect impeachment of the narrative as it appears in the record. That record and its aim seem to me alike plain and justifiable. The very "commendation" passed upon the steward's fraudulent conduct ought to open the eyes of the hostile critics to the parable's true purport — all the more because it comes so unnaturally from the unfortunate victim of the fraud. The lesson inculcated is sagacious foresight in things spiritual: — recall the wise man who built on the rock, and the wise virgins. It is the swindler's shrewd ingenuity in providing for impending needs which extorts praise even from its dupe. The parable is spoken "to the disciples" — a trained and trusted circle of hearers, who already had their senses somewhat exercised in discerning good and evil. Jesus draws from it for them an admonition not to let themselves be surpassed in prudence by the "sons of this world." He enforces the lesson, and carries it still further, by reminding them that even "unrighteous wealth" — (rightly enough so styled, because it so commonly tempts to wrongdoing, as the story shows) — can be made tributary to everlasting profit. The exhortations which follow it, and which several expositors (Weiss among them, *Leben Jesu*, ii. 67 note) regard as an incongruous addition or misplacement, for which the Evangelist is answerable, are but variations and amplifications thoroughly in the style of our Lord's teaching: as is seen, for instance, in the allegory that blends sheepfold and shepherd, in the tenth chapter of John. Chargeable with improbabilities and incongruities the story may be, if tried by a *rhetorical* standard. But it is *not* a literary but a *didactic* production; designed not to entertain, but to *edify*. The morality of the measures the steward adopted does not come into the case.

Like other fictitious illustrations which the great teacher employed, it is shaped not to meet the squeamish or the correct taste resultant from nineteen centuries of Christian culture; but is modelled in conformity with the current views and practices of his contemporaries. Its very boldness makes it take the hearer captive and set him to pondering:—as its history proves. It may be placed by the side of the story of the man who, having hit upon buried treasure, conceals the fact till he has bought the field (Mt. 13<sup>44</sup>); or the still bolder parable which brings God and an unrighteous judge into comparison (Lk. 18). Over all these may stand the inscription, "Evil to him who evil thinks."

2. We have another example of the intrepid way in which Jesus charged home a single but pertinent moral truth, in the reply he made, when dining with a Pharisee, to the surprise expressed "that he had not washed before dinner" (Lk. 11<sup>38</sup>): "Now ye the Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter; but your inward part is full of extortion and wickedness. . . . But give for alms those things which are within; and behold, all things are clean unto you."

Here, again, fastidious critics shake their heads. What is this, they say, but the sophistical doctrine, which so often finds favor with the possessors of ill-gotten wealth, that charity cancels rapacity! Accordingly, ingenious devices have been resorted to in order to make our Lord say something different from what he does say—as, for example, that the language is ironical, and does not express the teaching of Jesus; but is a hypocritical maxim of the rabbins, quoted by him as an addition to his impeachment of them: "Only give something to the poor and your wrongdoing is condoned"; "alms-giving is the sum of all virtues"; "charity (you think) covers a multitude of sins"! Others, who rightly acknowledge the language to be an intentional exhortation, think to preclude the inference that mere acts have value apart from motives, by saying: "Of course, Jesus means, 'Give—in the right spirit; with genuine love for the needy,' " *etc.*, an essential in the case of which, unfortunately, Jesus, in addressing these votaries of externalism, has given no hint.

The truth is, he simply puts his finger directly on the sore. To give their wealth to the needy was just the last thing these greedy and self-indulgent extortioners could bring themselves to think of. The act would work a revolution in their character. Jesus in giving this command proceeds as he did in the case of the rich young ruler. He strips off their disguises, and exposes them to themselves;—with

a result apparently less promising even than in the former case, to judge by the woes which immediately follow in the Evangelist's report (Lk. 11<sup>45f</sup>).

3. We can take but one more example of the boldness and directness which characterized Jesus in enforcing without qualification a specific truth; *viz.* the illustration of it given in the parable known as The Laborers in the Vineyard, or Equal Pay for Unequal Work (Mt. 20<sup>1-10</sup>). The owner of the vineyard, you remember, has hired five different sets of laborers, at different times during the day: the first set early in the morning, the last at the eleventh hour. The first group had agreed to work for a denarius<sup>18</sup> a day. The others, subsequently hired, had merely been told that they would be paid what was "right." At the close of the day, when, according to law (Lev. 19<sup>13</sup>; Tob. 4<sup>14</sup>), payment was to be made, the owner of the vineyard told his steward to call the laborers and give them their hire, "beginning from the last." These received every man a full day's wages for an hour's work. This generous overpayment of course stirred expectation in those who were hired first. Consequently, when they received every man only a denarius, they complained, saying, "These last have worked (or "spent") but one hour, and thou hast made them equal unto us, who have borne the burden of the day and the scorching heat. But he answered and said to one of them, Friend, I do thee no wrong: didst not thou agree with me for a shilling? Take up that which is thine, and go thy way; it is my will to give unto this last, even as unto thee. Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? or is thine eye evil, because I am good?" The answer would have been more likely to silence the complainant than to satisfy him. On the ground of strict justice, indeed, neither his complaint nor our scruples can find any standing. But the wisdom of the gratuity seems open to question. What would be the effect of such apparently ill-timed and capricious generosity upon social economics? The mere defence of it seems to be a provocative to labor troubles. Hence, some indiscreet interpreters have been forward to assume that the inequality in payment must have been justified by inequality in work. But of difference between the laborers as respects zeal, capacity, amount accomplished, and the like, not a word is said. Nor can the

<sup>18</sup> In intrinsic value nearly equivalent to the old-fashioned New England shilling, as money of account; but in purchasing power equivalent probably to three times that amount at the present day. It seems to have been the ordinary day's wages at the time. Compare Tobit 5<sup>11</sup> and Fuller's note *ad. loc.*

late comers be assumed to have received for one hour the payment of twelve, because they were willing to work all day but did not get the opportunity. Nor is that exposition any more satisfactory which, by overpressing the introductory words, "The kingdom of heaven is like," *etc.*, refers the scene to the consummated Christian state, and finds the explanation of the identity of reward in the fact that all alike receive the same gift, "eternal life." This interpretation (although it finds favor with Weiss, *Com.*, p. 349) is not only intrinsically irrational, but it conflicts in principle with the answer Jesus gives to Peter's question (19<sup>th</sup>): "Peter said unto him, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee; what then shall we have? And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life. But many shall be last that are first, and first that are last" — a clear recognition of gradations, as in merit so in reward. And, at the final award, the "cup of cold water" shall receive its recompense, he tells us. No. The bestowment of the extra remuneration is expressly removed from all economic or imaginary grounds, and assumed by the owner of the vineyard as his sovereign prerogative: "*It is my will* to give unto this last even as unto thee." This phrase lifts us at once to the true point of view.

It is the exercise of his gratuitous and unmerited benevolence; an exhibition of it which to us is inexplicable; but not on that account censurable. For the act typifies God's conduct; which, however inscrutable it often is, must be equitable, because it is His. That he makes wide differences in his distribution of blessings, and for reasons, too, which we cannot conjecture, is as true in things temporal as things spiritual. And to the murmuring spirit in either realm the answer is irrefutable: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own"? Are you jealous, because I am generous? — when my generosity does not rob you of a farthing; you ought not to envy those rejoicing in their good fortune, but to rejoice with them.

But the pertinence of the parable — as in other instances — relates primarily to those to whom it was spoken. It contains a most suggestive rebuke to Pharisaic *claims*. The attitude of the Pharisee is unquestionably correctly exhibited by Luke's representative character (18<sup>th</sup>), who congratulates himself before God that he is superior

to "the rest of men," fasting Mondays and Thursdays all the year round, and paying tithes on all his income as well as his capital. Such men were naturally jealous of everything which looked like an encroachment on their fancied rights. And our Lord, as in the former instance, carries the principle he so strikingly exhibits to an application fitted to awaken their alarm. This friend of publicans and sinners, this proclaimer of good tidings, who gave indiscriminate welcome to 'all' the weary and heavy-laden, reminds them that, by the law of *gratuitous* bestowment, present positions may be reversed: "the last become first, and the first last."

IV. Additional characteristics of Jesus as a teacher might well be dwelt upon did time permit — prominent among them his habit of appealing to other than the intellectual powers. Moral instruction requires insight, rather than reasoning. It demands more *sympathy* and *candor* than logic. Hence, things hidden from the wise and prudent are revealed often unto babes.

One comprehensive lesson which our topic teaches must not remain unstated, *viz.*: The admirable *educative* power lodged in the teachings of Jesus.

Jesus does not deal with his disciples as many an eminent instructor, ancient and modern, has dealt with his pupils. He does not give them a rigid and classified collection of rules, to be stored up in memory and obeyed as occasion may require. He puts upon *them* the task of extricating from the figurative, or pictorial, or axiomatic, expressions in which his lessons are couched, the particular direction befitting the diversified temperaments and circumstances, and the constantly changing conditions, of individual life. He furnishes the principle; it is for the disciple to apply it.

"But" — it may be objected — "have you not made it evident that there is by no means complete agreement, among experts even, respecting the meaning of not a few of his teachings? What, then, shall the average disciple do? According to the probabilities of the case, is he not foredoomed often to err in his decisions?"

Even apart from experience, we should answer affirmatively; and Christian history from the early days of the church at Jerusalem down confirms the decision. But what follows? Only a more positive proof of the power of discipline inherent in the sacred record; a more emphatic conviction of the need of patient, candid study to ascertain its meaning, and of sincerity and discretion in the attempt to apply it.

This conviction is of itself an education.

For frequently the Christian principles of conduct are dealt with as though they were a *code of laws*; and the only task of one who would regulate his life by them were to look up the injunction which seems most nearly to fit the need of the moment. In fact, multitudes deal with the New Testament as though it were a moral receipt-book; as though Christian living were to be degraded to the level of cookery. The very intricacies of interpretation, the queries and perplexities in which we often become involved in our attempt to enucleate the lesson of a given section of the record, the clashing opinions of professional exegetes, the doubts that beset one detail or another owing to our fragmentary knowledge of the circumstances of the times—such things are enough to discourage a student who comes to his work under the misconception alluded to. A little reflection will convince him that all this is inevitable. For true morality cannot be imprisoned in words. The letter of Christ's teachings remains like himself—"the same yesterday, and today, and forever." But duties change with circumstances; and every age must adjust the unalterable principles to its own particular requirements. In this task, a share of which falls to every disciple, lies (as I have said) the training. The profit results, as in the case of the child with its problem in arithmetic, not from the *answer* but the *getting* of it. Yes; and in both cases even failure, if it result from honest, patient, prayerful effort, is but success in disguise. Such is Christ's school. This is the divine method of training souls. This is the way in which, if they are but docile pupils, they come to discern more and more of the Master's mind, and gradually grow towards the measure of his stature.

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## The Third Commandment.

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### I.

**The History of Interpretation.** — The most important renderings of the third commandment in ancient and in modern times are as follows :

Septuagint : οὐ λήμψῃ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου ἐπὶ ματαίῳ. οὐ γὰρ μὴ καθάρισις Κύριος ὁ θεός σου τὸν λαμβάνοντα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ματαίῳ. Origen : ἐπὶ ματαίῳ (*temere*). Aquila : εἰς εἰκῇ.

Graecus Venetus : οὐκ ἄρεῖς τοῦνομα τοῦ ὄντων τοῦ θεοῦ σου εἰς τὸ ψεῦδος· οὐ γὰρ ἀθώωσει ὁ ὄντων ὅς ἂν ἄροι τοῦνομά οἱ εἰς τὸ ψεῦδος.

Syriac (Latin translation, Walton's Polyglott) : *Ne jures per nomen Domini Dei tui cum mendacio ; quia non justificat Dominus eum qui jurat per nomen suum cum mendacio.*

Samaritan (Latin translation, Walton's Polyglott) : *Non accipies nomen Dei tui in vanum, non enim impunem dimittet Dominus eum qui acceperit nomen ejus in vanum.*

Arabic (Latin translation, Walton's Polyglott) : *Ne jures per nomen Dei Domini tui falso, quoniam Deus non justificat eum qui jurat per nomen ejus falso.*

Vulgate (Jerome) : *Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum, nec enim habebit insontem Dominus eum qui assumpsit nomen Domini Dei sui frustra.*

Targum Onkelos<sup>1</sup> : לֹא תִימִי יְת שְׁמָא דִּי אֱלֹהֵי לְמַנְנָא אֲרִי לֹא יִזְבִּי יְיָ יְת דִּימִי בְּשִׁמְיָהּ לְשִׁקְרָא :

Jerusalem Targum (Etheridge's translation, p. 485) : "Sons of Israel, my people, no one of you shall swear by the name of the word of the Lord your God in vain, for the Lord in the day of the great judgment will not acquit anyone who shall swear by His name in vain."

<sup>1</sup> The Targum Onkelos translates לְשִׁמְיָהּ in first clause by לְמַנְנָא = 'in vain'; in second clause by לְשִׁקְרָא = 'for falsehood.'

Philo seems to refer the third commandment to false swearing. He urges men to be slow to take an oath; but, if necessary, then to swear truthfully. Thoughtless and profane oaths are likewise to be avoided. (See Yonge's translation, Vol. III. p. 155 ff.)

Josephus makes the commandment refer to the oath. We are not to swear by God in a false manner; but thoughtless oaths are also to be avoided. . . . ὁ τρίτος δ' ἐπὶ μηδενὶ φαῦλῳ τὸν θεὸν ὀμνῆναι. . . . (See *Antiquities*, Bk. III. 5.)

The Talmudists seem to refer this commandment both to false swearing and to profane swearing. According to *Berakoth*, I. 19, the taking of the divine name in vain is forbidden; while in other references the prohibition of false swearing is associated with this commandment. In the Jerusalem Talmud, in the treatise *Shevuoth*, both false oaths and adjurations are brought under the prohibition of this commandment, all such being regarded as sinful because a profaning of the divine name. The interpretation of Ex. 20<sup>7</sup> is made to refer to lying oaths, while Deut. 5<sup>11</sup> is directed against swearing in vain. (See *Nedarim*, 3, 8; *Rabba* on Exodus, chap. 28.)

Barnabas says οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου (Barnabas 19<sup>8</sup>). The same interpretation is followed by the other Apostolic Fathers.

In Wycliffe's Bible the following translation is given: "Thou schalt not take in veyn the name of the Lord God, for the Lord schal not have him guiltless that taketh in veyn the name of His Lord God." This translation is followed by Coverdale, Cranmer, the Bishops' Bible, and Thomas Mathewe (1549), and is retained in our authorized and revised versions. The revisers, however, as well as the editors of the new Variorum edition, give as a marginal reading "for falsehood."

Luther translates: *Du sollst den Namen des Herrn deines Gottes nicht missbrauchen; denn der Herr wird den nicht ungestraft lassen der seinen Namen missbraucht.*

De Wette translates: *Du sollst den Namen Jehovas deines Gottes nicht aussprechen zur Unwahrheit; denn nicht ungestraft wird Jehova den lassen der seinen Namen ausspricht zur Unwahrheit.*

Kautzsch renders: *Du sollst den Namen Jahwes, deines Gottes, nicht freventlich aussprechen; denn Jahwe lässt den nicht ungestraft, der seinen Namen freventlich ausspricht.*

Calvin makes the third commandment refer chiefly to false swearing, but also to all occasions when the divine name is mentioned. Accordingly, the prohibition is directed against any light or frivolous use of the name of God, as well as against false swearing. לשון he

takes as meaning for falsehood, but a better rendering, he thinks, is to make it equivalent to  $\square\aleph$  (*frustra*) = "in vain." (See *Harmony of the Pentateuch*, Vol. II. p. 408.)

Kalisch (*Com. in loc.*) translates  $\aleph\psi$  "for falsehood," and makes the commandment a prohibition of false swearing. (Compare Gesenius's lexicon, 12th ed.)

Dillmann (*Com. in loc.*) regards the prohibition as directed against any sinful or unnecessary use of the divine name, as false swearing, profanity, etc.

Lange (*Com. in loc.*) makes the commandment a prohibition of the malicious use of the divine name. "The right apprehension of the name is presupposed, but the correctness of the apprehension is hypocritically employed by the transgressor in the interest of selfishness and vice."

From the above survey we are able to give a summary of the history of interpretation. There are no variations in the Hebrew text of the commandment, but various renderings are disclosed, which result from different interpretations of the Hebrew word  $\aleph\psi$ . The various interpretations we may classify as follows:

1. An interpretation is given which makes the commandment a prohibition of the use of the divine name for a bad or malicious purpose. Compare the word in Arabic from apparently the same root. (*sa'a* =  $\aleph\psi$  'to be bad.') (Eth. *sa'a* = 'crime.') This is the rendering of Kautzsch in his *Alt.-Test.*, *in loc.*, and Lange (*Com. in loc.*) seems to take this interpretation of the passage.

2. In the second division may be classified those interpretations which give the meaning of  $\aleph\psi$  as 'in vain, thoughtlessly, profanely,' viz. The Septuagint and other early Greek versions, Samaritan Pentateuch, Vulgate (Jerome), Barnabas, and the other Apostolic Fathers, early English versions, authorized and revised versions, etc.

3. In the third division we comprehend those who interpret  $\aleph\psi$  by 'falsely or for falsehood,' including those who make it a specific command against perjury or false swearing, viz. Graecus Venetus, Syriac version, Targum, Arabic version, De Wette, Kalisch, etc.

4. Some interpret  $\aleph\psi$  as including both 2 and 3, viz., the Talmud, Philo, Josephus, Luther, Calvin, Strack, Dillmann, and others.

## II.

An inductive study of the word  $\aleph\psi$ .—The word occurs in the following passages in the Old Testament:

1. Ex. 23<sup>1</sup>: "Thou shalt not raise a false report." Here the prohibition is clearly directed against not merely an empty report, but one with evil intent. Dillmann says "a harmful report" (*Com. in loc.*). This is clearly what gives point to the prohibition. It is not mere inadvertence, or even thoughtless repetition, but wilful intention to harm.

2. Deut. 5<sup>17[20]</sup>: This is parallel to Ex. 20<sup>16</sup>, where we read גֵּר שֶׁקֶר for שֶׁקֶר גֵּר of this verse. This would seem to indicate the meaning of שֶׁקֶר as 'falsehood' in our ordinary sense of the word. (See Driver, *Inter. Crit. Com. in loc.*)

3. In the Book of Job, the word שֶׁקֶר seems to have a like significance. Job 7<sup>3</sup>, "mouths of vanity," clearly signifies mouths of nothingness or emptiness. (So Delitzsch *in loc.*) So also 11<sup>11</sup>, "For he knoweth vain men," clearly means 'men of impiety' (compare Ps. 26<sup>1</sup>), *i.e.* 'men devoid of principle,' or 'empty' in the moral sense. The meaning is the same in 15<sup>31</sup>, where in the first clause שֶׁקֶר means 'waste' or 'empty in mind'; in the second, 'empty in fortune' (compare Hos. 12<sup>12[11]</sup>, and see Davidson and Delitzsch *in loc.*). In 31<sup>6</sup>, "If I have walked with vanity," the idea seems to be 'emptiness under a concealing mask, falsehood,' in the sense of 'hypocritical pretence.' So also 35<sup>13</sup>, "surely God will not hear vanity," *i.e.* 'emptiness,' in the sense that God will not hear mere motion of the lips, which is lacking in the essentials of true prayer.

4. The significance of שֶׁקֶר in the Psalms is similar to that in Job. See Ps. 12<sup>3</sup>, "They speak vanity one with another," *i.e.* they speak deceitful, hypocritical, empty words under a disguise that conceals their true nature. (See Delitzsch *in loc.*) The same idea is present in 41<sup>7</sup> 144<sup>8 11</sup>. Ps. 26<sup>4</sup>, "I have not sat with vain persons" (compare Jer. 15<sup>17</sup>, Job 11<sup>11</sup>, *etc.*), *i.e.* with 'unreal men, men of emptiness,' as opposed to those who are filled with the fulness of God, and hence are morally good (see Delitzsch *in loc.*). The phrase "lying vanities" (הַבִּלְשֵׁן שֶׁקֶר) in 31<sup>7</sup> is similar in meaning. The reference is evidently to false gods, *i.e.* beings that have no reality (see Cheyne, *Com. in loc.*, and Hitzig *in loc.*). The same idea is found in 89<sup>48[47]</sup> 127<sup>1 2</sup>. (See Delitzsch, De Wette, Hupfeld, *etc.*, *in loc.*)

5. In Prov. 30<sup>8</sup> שֶׁקֶר has the same significance as in Job or Psalms, *viz.*, 'emptiness, unreality.'

6. Is. 1<sup>13</sup>, "vain oblations," *i.e.* 'hypocritical offerings, such as have nothing behind them corresponding to what they pretend to express.' (See Cheyne and Delitzsch *in loc.*) Dillmann says "the meal offering of emptiness," *i.e.* lacking in moral dedication.

Is. 30<sup>28</sup>, "to sift the nations with the sieve of vanity." Cheyne says, "in the fan of nothingness," *i.e.* 'reduce them to nothingness.' פְּנוּא is defect of being, and the doom here is that which corresponds to such worthlessness. (See Delitzsch *in loc.*)

Is. 59<sup>1</sup>, "and speak lies," *i.e.* 'emptiness, that which is wanting in moral content.' Delitzsch says, "that which is morally empty and worthless."

7. Lam. 2<sup>14</sup>: the idea is similar to Isa. 59<sup>1</sup>.

8. Ez. 12<sup>24</sup>, "vain vision," *i.e.* 'unreal vision, one which has no reality in it, a vision of emptiness.' The same idea is present in all the references found in Ezekiel. Compare Ez. 13<sup>6, 7, 8, 9, 21</sup> 21<sup>28, 34</sup> 22<sup>28</sup>.

9. Hos. 10<sup>1</sup>: "They have spoken words, swearing falsely, in making a covenant." Nowack says, "a false oath, in the sense of one with a mental reservation." Their action is hypocritical, for they do not regard Yahweh, but while professing to do so, their own interest is alone at heart. As they do not regard with undivided attention the worship of Yahweh, their oaths cannot be true oaths, for they are lacking in the quality essential to the taking of such oaths. The reference here is rather to the heart of the swearer than to the matter of words.

Hos. 12<sup>10(11)</sup>: Cheyne translates "If Gilead is (given to) idolatry, mere vanity shall they (the Gileadites) become." Gilead being moral nothingness, she also shall become physical nothingness (see Nowack *in loc.*).

10. Jon. 2<sup>9</sup>: "Lying vanities" (הַבְּלִי-פְנוּא) (lit. 'breaths of vanity'). This is a strong expression, similar in meaning to the preceding passages.

11. Mal. 3<sup>14</sup>: "It is vain to serve God." The meaning here is clearly not that it is false or bad to serve Jehovah, but that it is nothingness. It is vanity, *i.e.* empty; there is no reality in it.

Owing to the few instances in which the word פְּנוּא occurs in the preëxilic literature of the Old Testament, and its complete absence in early passages, it is difficult to make definite statements in regard to the history of the word. From a careful consideration of the passages, however, it seems manifest that the word has a history in Old Testament literature, and that we can distinguish in a general way an earlier and a later signification.

1. In most preëxilic passages פְּנוּא has the meaning of 'falsity,' but always implying evil intent. This is evident in Ex. 23<sup>1</sup> and Deut. 5<sup>17(20)</sup>. It is the meaning also which is suggested by words from the

same root in the cognate languages. In such passages as Hos. 10<sup>4</sup> Is. 1<sup>18</sup> the same idea of evil intent is present, but refers to evil intent of the heart rather than to expression in outward word or act. The other passages imply falsehood in a more objective sense; here it is rather subjective, *i.e.* 'hypocrisy' and 'falsity of character.'

2. In all exilic and post-exilic passages the word  $\text{נִשְׁבַּע}$  has lost its earlier significance, and means 'false' rather in the sense of 'unreal in nature, empty, vain.' Hence any use of the divine name in this way corresponds to the idea of profanity as found in the exilic and later literature of the Old Testament.

3. The word  $\text{נִשְׁבַּע}$  in connection with witness-bearing clearly has the signification of falsehood. (See Deut. 5<sup>17(20)}</sup> Hos. 10<sup>4</sup>.)

### III.

**Conceptions of the Divine Name among Primitive Peoples.**—Writers<sup>2</sup> on the early history of mankind have noted that among primitive peoples subjective and objective relations are usually confused. The conception prevails—apparently universally—that there is a very real connection between an object and its image. Peoples in a more advanced stage of civilization, governed by more scientific principles, easily realize this to be only a subjective relationship; but to primitive man it appeared to have all the substance of reality. This conception is the fundamental thought which rules in all processes that may be termed magical, and explains the mental misconception on which all early philosophy is based, *viz.*, a wrong induction, which gives as real causes only such as exist in the imagination, or from association of ideas argues to a connection in external fact.

A significant illustration of this is seen in the use of the name. The mental image of an object and the name come together in the mind, and so a real connection is thought to exist between them. The uttering of a word has an influence on the object for which it stands. As a consequence of this, the possession of a name is regarded as the medium through which good or bad influences may be exerted. This is not viewed as mere symbolism, but is thought of as a real process; for the name is considered to be a real part of the being for which it stands. So among many peoples under primitive conditions there is a strong disposition not to allow their names

<sup>2</sup> Among others, Mannhart, *Zauber Glaube*; Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, p. 111 ff.; Renouvier, *Phil. Analytiques*, Tom. I. 1 ff.; Jevons, *Introduction to History of Religion*; Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 93 ff.

to be known. This is especially true where magical processes are practised. This conception, indeed, seems to be universal among primitive peoples, and has survived to our own day among many backward races.

In the light of the foregoing facts, we can easily understand how the conception of the importance of the name could be transferred to man's relationship with superior powers, and how the knowledge of the name of a spirit or god would give the possessor of that name a means of direct communication with the deity, and enable him to secure its services for his own needs and purposes. That such was a common conception the following investigation will disclose.

In connection with what has been stated, it is necessary to note that in the early phases of the religion of the world each deity has his own peculiar circle of worshippers, to whom alone his name is a valued possession; for to such only as are in covenant relations with him is the knowledge of his name of any utility. In the course of the development of primitive religions there arises a distinction between those supernatural beings which come to be regarded as great gods and other spiritual beings which do not rise to the rank of deities. Spirits, originally good or evil, gradually become further differentiated, the good spirits rising to the rank of deities, while the evil spirits remain mere spirits, and are regarded as the special enemies of man — malignant beings, who may be invoked to work mischief against the good and upright. The good gods are now looked upon as beneficent beings, friendly to man, ready to protect their worshippers and to uphold the cause of the upright. Religion becomes more and more confined to the worship of such deities, while the worship of malignant spirits is regarded as disloyal and impious. The power of these spirits of darkness is not denied, but it becomes a mark of great degeneracy to owe allegiance to them, or to make use of their power for any personal or malicious purpose.

Thus, in regard to the use of the divine name there arises a conflict in most religions as they develop into a higher stage. The invoking of the name of malicious spirits is condemned as disloyal to the gods. On the other hand, the use of the name of a god, as before stated, is permitted, and is regarded by the worshipper as the medium of seeking those things which are in accord with his will.

Among the primitive peoples of India<sup>8</sup> we have many illustrations of the use and significance of the name. According to their concep-

<sup>8</sup> See Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of North India*, p. 99 ff.

tion, in order to appease the wrath of some malicious power, which has been the cause of affliction, misfortune, or sickness, the first step is to determine the name of the god or spirit that requires to be appeased. This is done in various ways, simple and crude, but revealing a well-defined conception of the use of the name. The dropping of oil in water is a favorite method. As the oil is dropped the supposed deity is named. If the oil forms one globule, the proper deity has been named; if otherwise, another name is tried, until the proper decision is reached.

Many instances occur where the name of the afflicted person is changed, or some other subterfuge is resorted to in order to deceive the spirits of evil and escape their assaults. If one has lost a child by death, supposed to have been caused by malicious spirits, the next child born in the family is given an opprobrious name, so that the demons may be terrified. For the same reason, nicknames are given with the conception that thereby the mischief-maker is prevented, through ignorance of the real name, from acquiring control over the owner. Among the masses of the Hindu population similar ideas are prevalent, although the unwillingness to mention the name has, in most cases, lost its original significance. It is well known that the Hindu, or even the Mohammedan, of India considers it very improper to mention a wife's name, much more so for the wife to utter the name of her husband. Similar conceptions<sup>4</sup> prevail among the negroes of Africa, the natives of Abyssinia, the aborigines of Australia, and other primitive peoples.

Among all such primitive peoples there is a distinction drawn between the mere magician or sorcerer and the authorized priest, and religion is already separated from mere occult arts. The magicians work not by acknowledged powers; their practices, therefore, are proscribed, not perhaps so much because they are wrong in themselves, but because they manifest disloyalty to the sanctioned worship and the acknowledged method of procedure.

The Aryan faiths of India entertained similar conceptions in regard to the name. The *Atharva Veda*, which preserves for us the lowest, but, probably, the most popular side of the Vedic religion, deals especially with matters of magical import, and several passages<sup>5</sup> have reference to the use of the name.

<sup>4</sup> See Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 248 ff.; Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 242; Burton, *Dahomé*, Vol. II. p. 284; Parkyns, *Abyssinia*, Vol. II. p. 145, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Atharva Veda*, V. 5; XIX. 35; VI. 44; XIX. 39.

When the old Vedic faith had developed into ritualistic Brahmanism<sup>6</sup> the correct knowledge of the sacrificial formula was all-important, and had power, in connection with the sacrifice, to bend the gods to one's will. The mystic syllable *Om* has never lost its efficacy throughout the whole course of the development of Indian religions. The highest merit and greatest utility to the worshipper result from the faithful use of this sacred syllable, which is thought to be identical with the highest Brahma.

Modern Hinduism has similar conceptions, as is seen in the importance attached to the ceremony of giving a name to a newborn child. The future career of the individual may be greatly affected by the choice of a happy or auspicious name. A secret name is often given, which is considered the real name and is not made public, in order that the possessor may be protected against all those who may desire to injure him by their enchantments.<sup>7</sup> The continued and rapid repetition of the names of the gods is considered of great merit. The name of Rama is especially common in such invocations, and is heard from the lips of Hindus at all times of special need or solemnity.

The Laws of Manu, the great embodiment of Hindu law, contain several passages<sup>8</sup> which disclose such conceptions. "Sorcery by means of sacrifice, and working magic by means of roots, are strictly forbidden." "Those who live by teaching the performance of auspicious ceremonies . . . fortune-telling, are punishable." "For all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites with roots (practised by persons) not related to him against whom they are directed, and for various kinds of sorcery, a fine . . . shall be inflicted."

There is a lawful use of such power, however, placed in the hands of the Brahmins. "The Brahman may punish his foes by his own power alone. Let him use without hesitation the sacred texts revealed by Atharvan and Angiras: speech, indeed, is the weapon of Brahmins; with that he may slay his enemies."

The texts of the *Atharva Veda*, we know, were largely used for the purpose of counteracting the work of evil demons, for healing the sick, and for the general benefit and protection of the worshipper. This is evidence of the lawful and permitted use of the divine name by properly authorized persons.

<sup>6</sup> See "Institutes of Vishnu," *Sac. Bks. of the East*, Vol. VII., XXX. 33; LV. 9-21; XCVIII. 6.

<sup>7</sup> See Sir Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, pp. 372, 358.

<sup>8</sup> Laws of Manu, XI. 64; IX. 2, 290; XI. 31-34.

From the inner character of Persian Zoroastrianism we can understand what a place such conceptions of the name must have had in it. As it comes before us in the Zend-Avesta it is no longer a primitive faith, but the most fully developed, in many respects, of all the Oriental religions. The dualism which characterizes it manifests itself in reference to the use of the name, and the power attached to words<sup>9</sup> is freely acknowledged.

In the *Ormazd Yast* we are told that the recitation of the names of Ahura Mazda is the best defence against all dangers.<sup>10</sup> "Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda what of the Holy Word is the strongest, most glorious, most effective, fiend-smiting, best healing, what destroyeth the malice of *dævas* and men? Ahura Mazda answered, 'Our name—that is the strongest, most victorious, most glorious, most effective, most fiend-smiting.' Reveal unto me that name of thine, O Ahura Mazda!" Then follow the twenty names, the recitation of which brings victory. The legitimate uses of the name are plainly seen, *vis.*, to destroy the malice of *dævas*, to secure the personal safety of the true worshipper, and to keep in subjection the great enemy of purity and light, Angru Mainyu.<sup>11</sup>

The old Babylonian religion was a spirit-worship of the most primitive form. It furnishes us with illustrations of the conception of the name, especially in magical texts and conjuration formulæ. The exorcisms are addressed most frequently to a beneficent deity, such as Marduk, who acts as mediator with his father Ea, who is regarded as the source of highest intelligence. Man, in his struggle with malignant spirits, makes appeal to some beneficent power, spirit or god. In the more developed stage of the Babylonian religion, when there exists a fully grown pantheon of gods, the medium of approach to these is through the personal name of the deity invoked. The knowledge of the name secures the assistance of the god, while ignorance of it prevents the granting of the required assistance. The impression seems to have existed that there was a power able to repel all hostile attacks, if only its name could be secured. Ea alone knows the all-powerful name; and his son Marduk (earlier Silik-mulu-dug), who acts as mediator, is besought by the worshipper to request his father's assistance in time of need. There is clearly emphasized a distinction between the lawful and unlawful use of the name. The supernatural power by which man can avert the malicious attacks of hostile powers is lawfully employed in the use of

<sup>9</sup> See *Vendidad*, X., XI.

<sup>10</sup> See *SBE*. Vol. XXIII. p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> *SBE*. Vol. IV. *Farvard*, x., xi.; Vol. XXIII. pp. 74, 138, 168, 260 ff.

the name of the beneficent god to avert evil, to benefit the worshipper, and to subdue the demons; while, if employed for an opposite purpose, it degenerates into pernicious and impious practices — mere sorcery and witchcraft, with all the stream of evils which flow from them. This latter use is sternly condemned, clearly showing that in the Babylonian religion, throughout its entire history, the distinction between the lawful and the unlawful use of the divine name was recognized.<sup>12</sup>

According to Egyptian psychology, the name constituted an essential element of man's complex nature, and the calling upon the name was possessed of a powerful influence. This is in harmony with the common Oriental conception of the power of the human voice. If an influence is to be exerted on man or on god, it is accomplished most readily and effectually by a knowledge of the name. Egyptian religious texts furnish many striking illustrations of this idea. A peculiarity is seen in the use of apparently meaningless phrases,<sup>13</sup> which are thought to possess peculiar significance. The *Harris Papyrus Magique* furnishes a list of such words and phrases.<sup>14</sup> Many of the sacred texts show how much depended on a correct knowledge of the name. Isis did not know the secret name of Ra, and this impaired her power. Ra kept secret the special name on which his power was based. "Tell me thy name, divine father, for that man lives who is called by his name." Most suggestive are the examples in the Book of the Dead, especially concerning the identification of the dead with Osiris. By calling the dead man Osiris, the name secures to the deceased the same victory over death and identity of experience with the god.

Chabas has shown<sup>15</sup> that such arts were not always confined to funereal or preservative rites, but were used also for selfish and vicious purposes and for the gratification of human passions. An interesting copy is given of an accusation and condemnation to death for such uses of magical power in the time of Rameses III. (p. 170). From

<sup>12</sup> See the following references, as the basis of the statement regarding the Babylonian idea of the use and abuse of the name: Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 19, 28, 43, 72, 108; *Records of the Past* (First Series), Vol. I. p. 147; Vol. III. p. 147; Vol. IX. p. 143 ff.; (Second Series), Vol. V. p. 134; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures* (1887), pp. 303-4; King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, p. 27, l. 33; p. 43, l. 14 ff.; p. 46, l. 8; p. 63, l. 89; p. 76, l. 13 f.; p. 84, l. 10; p. 93, l. 14; Tallquist, *Assyr. Beschwörung Maqlû*, p. 43, l. 19; p. 49, l. 125; p. 53, l. 191, etc.

<sup>13</sup> These are probably corruptions of some primitive language forgotten in later times.

<sup>14</sup> See pp. 146, 151.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 169 ff.

this it is evident that the magical books belonged exclusively to the king, and were lawfully consulted only on special occasions by the proper royal priests or *savants* who were the court advisers of the king.

Here, as among other early people, the lawful use of the name is clearly differentiated from all false and selfish uses.<sup>16</sup>

#### IV.

**The Name of Yahweh (שם יהוה).**—Having considered the significance of the name among early peoples, we now pass to a treatment of the phrase שם יהוה as found in the Old Testament and its bearing on the interpretation of the third commandment.

1. The section in the Book of the Covenant, Ex. 20<sup>22-24</sup>, is an amplification of the thought of commandments one to three of the Decalogue. This we take as the point of departure in the following discussion. The worship of one God by Israel is here implied; and simplicity in that worship is enjoined, as is shown in the restrictions regarding the altar, and the prohibition of any attempt to represent Yahweh by visible forms, while v. 24<sup>b</sup>, "in any place where I record my name,"<sup>17</sup> implies a right and proper use of the name of Yahweh, and consequent blessings to those who so use it. (Compare Ex. 23<sup>13b</sup>.)

Here we have clearly expressed the fundamental truths upon which the Hebrew religion is based, truths which in course of time were destined to transform and elevate the thought of Israel into pure, untrammelled monotheism. One God for Israel means that as history unfolds there is to come the full recognition that there is one God only for the world. No idol-worship and simplicity in service are requirements that cut short any development in the direction of naturalism or mere materialism, while the use of the divine name is

<sup>16</sup> See Budge, *Book of the Dead*, pp. lix., 249 (*Papyrus of Ani*), pp. 254, 274, 276, 288, 299; Maspero, *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, I. 93 and II. 373; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 265 ff.; Chabas, *Harris Papyrus Magique*, pp. 140, 145 f., "Thy name is more powerful than the gods" (*Litanies of Shu*, Chabas, p. 140); Renouf, *Hibbert Lectures* (1879), p. 184; *Book of the Dead*, according to Budge, as above, p. 249, "May my name be proclaimed when it is found upon the boards of the table-offering"; p. 274, "Osiris . . . knoweth thy name . . . is known unto you, and he knoweth your names"; p. 276, the dead says, "I know your names and I know the name of the great god."

<sup>17</sup> אֵיכָלִי is best translated as a permissive *Hiphil*, "in every place where I permit mention of my name."

permitted as the medium through which a fuller knowledge of the divine character may be given.

Interpreting in the light of our study of primitive conceptions, we understand the name as the manward side of the Divine Being, the medium of access to the divine presence, and the source of blessing to the worshipper. No other conception of early man was so well adapted to be the medium through which higher and more spiritual ideas of the divine nature could be conveyed.

Calling upon the name of a god implies allegiance to that god, trust and faith in his power. If Israel was to grow more loyal to Yahweh, it was only to be realized by the sole invoking of his name in time of need.<sup>18</sup>

All advance in religious knowledge, and consequently in spiritual power, is the result of a fuller knowledge of the name of God which, in other words, is the revelation of His character.<sup>19</sup> The proclamation of the name of Yahweh at Sinai (see Ex. 34<sup>5-7</sup>[JE]) is the culmination of the revelation to Israel in this early period, and in this revelation we have a basis for a true spiritual relationship between Yahweh and His people. The thought is often expressed that the revelation of the divine character, through the filling out of the significance of the name, brings not only increase of privileges to His people, but denotes their close relationship to Him, and inspires confidence and trust in the hearts of His true worshippers.<sup>20</sup>

If we compare the thought of this early period of the Hebrew religion with that of other peoples in regard to the name, we cannot but realize that there is a great similarity in the forms of expression, while among the Hebrews a distinctly spiritual conception is present which is lacking in other faiths. It is this element which differentiates Hebrew thought from that of other early peoples.

2. In the period which is best represented by the law of Deuteronomy<sup>21</sup> the use of the divine name in worship is especially emphasized, and a growth in spirituality of conception is manifest. Emphasis is placed on the superiority of Israel over other peoples, in the fact that they are permitted to rejoice before God because of the

<sup>18</sup> Gen. 4<sup>26</sup> 12<sup>8</sup> 13<sup>4</sup> 18. Compare with Ex. 20<sup>24</sup>. Here the name Yahweh is used. This is the conception of the writer, who uses the language of his own times.

<sup>19</sup> See Gen. 16<sup>13</sup>. Compare Ex. 3<sup>13</sup> 14<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> See Josh. 7<sup>9</sup> 9<sup>9</sup> 23<sup>7</sup> (compare Ex. 23<sup>10</sup>) 1 Sam. 17<sup>46</sup> Is. 12<sup>4</sup> Amos 2<sup>7</sup> 5<sup>8</sup> 6<sup>10</sup> 9<sup>6</sup> 12.

<sup>21</sup> Deuteronomy was, we take it, the Book of the Law discovered in the time of Josiah, 621 B.C.

manifestation of His name (Deut. 4<sup>7</sup>). The blessedness of coming to His one central sanctuary is that He has set His name there, and that He has so manifested Himself that they may rejoice before Him (see Deut. 14<sup>24</sup> 16<sup>2 4 11</sup>). The name is taken as the expression of His nature and character; and His revealed name is associated with His people Israel and with His sanctuary in their midst. Their meeting with Him is more than a meeting with a tribal god, and the basis of their joy is the knowledge of Himself as revealed in His name.

The relation of Yahweh to those called by His name — those to whom He stands in the relation of owner and protector — has now, aided by the increased spirituality of the prophetic age,<sup>22</sup> passed into a purely spiritual conception.

In this age prophecy reaches its climax. The work of the prophet is done in the name of Yahweh. He takes the place in Israel of those men among other peoples who endeavored to make known the mysteries of the unseen. In Him and in His work is seen the highest development of the use of the divine name (see Deut. 18<sup>15 19</sup>).

3. The Hebrew literature which comes from the exilic age gives us a highly spiritual conception of God. Pure monotheism prevails, and the divine nature is regarded as essentially transcendent. The holiness of the divine name is especially emphasized; and so, likewise, the sin of profaning the name is emphatically condemned. The Levitical law also emphasizes very pointedly the holiness and transcendent character of God.<sup>23</sup> According to this law, as according to the prophets of this period, any act or word which seems to have the appearance of profanity is to be carefully avoided. In this age the third commandment would seem to have a direct application to the sin of profanity, or to any frivolous use of the divine name.<sup>24</sup>

4. In the post-exilic prophets and in the later historical books<sup>25</sup> the holiness of the divine nature continues to be emphasized and the sin of profanity to be condemned. Any word or deed that seems to detract from the glory due to God or to manifest a disposition to deprive Him of the honor rightly belonging to Him, is deprecated. Since Israel is His people, any act that tends to minimize His exalted

<sup>22</sup> Mic. 4<sup>5</sup> Deut. 28<sup>10</sup> *etc.*

<sup>23</sup> See especially the Holiness Code (Lev. 17-26), which is generally believed to have been completed in this age.

<sup>24</sup> See Is. 43<sup>7</sup>, 25 48<sup>9</sup>, 11 57<sup>15</sup> Ez. 20<sup>9</sup>, 14, 22 39<sup>7</sup>, 25 43<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> See Mal. 1<sup>6</sup>, 11, 12, 14 2<sup>2</sup>, 10, 11 4<sup>2</sup> 1 Chron. 13<sup>6</sup> 15<sup>2</sup> 2 Chron. 36<sup>13</sup> Dan. 9<sup>19</sup> (*cf.* Neh. 9<sup>5</sup>) Neh. 13<sup>25</sup>.

character as their God is profanity. Clear evidence of the growing sanctity of the divine name is manifest in the increasing tendency to drop the name יהוה and to use in its place שם or אלהים.

## V.

### The Use and Abuse of the Divine Name in the Old Testament. —

We have seen already that early peoples in general had the conception of a proper use of the names of their gods, while they condemned the abuse or malicious use of these names as well as all practices of a merely magical nature which implied connection with or allegiance to spirits or powers other than the accepted deities.

Of the early religious ideas of the Hebrews we have no full record, and even the literature that treats of the most ancient period must be colored in some measure by the ideas of the later time in which it took its present form. However, we have, from a very early time, distinct intimations of the attitude of the Hebrew religion to the subject under discussion. The Book of the Covenant (Ex. 22<sup>18</sup>) condemns to death the sorceress, which clearly indicates the attitude of this early code. Why the prohibition is not fuller we cannot state with any certainty. It would seem probable, however, from this stern prohibition, that among the Hebrews, as among other primitive peoples, women were most addicted to magic, or were most feared because of their supposed influence with the powers of evil. It may also have been, as has frequently been observed in modern times among races emerging from a low stage of culture to a more advanced stage, that, owing to the inferior position of woman, she may have held with more tenacious grasp conceptions which came down from earlier and less enlightened times. According to 1 Sam. 28<sup>3</sup>, however, Saul is represented as "putting away those that had familiar spirits and the wizards out of the land," although a little later it was to the witch of Endor that he went in the hour of despondency (v. 7<sup>ff</sup>). From this it is evident that all persons engaging in such practices were regarded as guilty, and that the prohibition of the Book of the Covenant was directed against magic in general, female offenders being singled out only because they were the most prominent offenders.

The frequent condemnation<sup>26</sup> of such arts in the early literature of the Hebrews is sufficient evidence that they were common. There is no thought of doubting their reality or their potency. As we have

<sup>26</sup> See Micah 5<sup>12</sup> Is. 2<sup>6</sup> 3<sup>2, 3</sup> 8<sup>19</sup>. <sup>27</sup> 19<sup>3</sup> 29<sup>4</sup> etc.

seen already, the proper use of the divine name, in accordance with primitive conceptions, is not wanting. This is the privilege of the true worshipper, who in this way has access to God. The name is also the medium through which a fuller knowledge of the divine nature is transmitted and God's power made available in blessing His people.

Several incidents in early Hebrew history illustrate a use of the divine name which retains largely, in external form, the significance of the name found among other peoples.

The work of the seer, for instance, in early Israel is akin to that of the seer and the soothsayer among other peoples, but he is not condemned, for he speaks in the name of Yahweh and under His direction and guidance.<sup>27</sup> Here we see that higher religion does not abandon primitive forms, but gradually transforms them in accordance with its own spirit.

The Balaam stories (Num. 22-24) are suggestive. Balak sends for Balaam with rewards of divination in order to secure his aid in cursing Israel. The whole account is a picture of primitive ideas of divination. Balaam builds seven altars and offers sacrifice thereon. But, as the account comes to us from the prophetic writer, he can speak only as he is permitted, *viz.* to bless Yahweh's people and to utter words necessary for the strengthening of His people.

The contest on Mount Carmel between Elijah and the prophets of Baal (1 K. 18<sup>17</sup> ff.) is also suggestive. Both call on the name of their god. On the part of the Baal worshippers there is a full exhibition of primitive conceptions. Elijah uses forms similar, but purged of their grossness by the spiritual conceptions of the Hebrew faith.<sup>28</sup>

Passing on to the century preceding Josiah's reforms, we find that Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah have outgrown earlier conceptions. They speak in the name of Yahweh, but their work is characterized by a high and pure spirituality. They have reached an altitude where forms, although not entirely outgrown, have lost much of their original meaning. That this is true is evidenced by such passages as Is. 3<sup>2,3</sup>. Here, prophet, judge, and diviner are associated, as acknowledged elements in the life of the people.<sup>29</sup> "Prophet and soothsayer are classed together. . . . It does not appear that the prophets denied the reality of magical powers, though they did assert that the use of them without the direction and assistance of Jehovah was

<sup>27</sup> See Judges 4<sup>4</sup> ff. 1 Sam. 9.

<sup>28</sup> Compare 2 K. 5, where is brought out the Syrian idea of the use of name (v. 11).

<sup>29</sup> Compare Micah 3<sup>6,7</sup>.

an act of rebellion against the God of gods" (Cheyne, *Com. in loc.*). The priestly divination by lot is not condemned in the Biblical narrative. "Urim and Thummim" were, probably, simply two stones put into the pocket beneath the breastplate of the high priest's ephod, which indicated "yes" and "no" respectively. Whichever stone was drawn was taken as the divine decision. The drawing of the sacred lot continued down to late times, and seems clearly to have originated in the use of the divine name for a good or beneficial purpose.

The passage in Deut. 18<sup>10-22</sup> treats in a special manner of the position and authority of the prophet. According to this law, all forms of divination and magic are to be avoided. The place that the soothsayer and diviner fill among other peoples is in Israel to be taken by the prophet, who is to speak in the name of Yahweh. The true prophet stands in close relation to Yahweh; and, instead of a mere knowledge of the name, which is the avenue to power and influence, he has a deep spiritual insight into the character and mind of God. Because of this ethical and spiritual knowledge of the name of God, he is able to become a great spiritual force among his people.

Consequent upon this advance in spiritual religion, prophet and lawgiver alike forbade any lower kind of prophecy or presumptuous speaking in His name or in the name of other gods.<sup>30</sup> Through the work inaugurated by the true line of prophecy, the older conceptions were swallowed up in a new conception. The old order passed away, and it remained only for the period of the exile to complete more fully the emancipation of the mind from all the lingering crudities of the youth of Israel's religious history.

The literature from the period of the exile is especially characterized by its strong assertions of monotheism — Yahweh is Lord of the whole earth. It follows from this that all divination and worship of heathen deities is vanity. Babylon will be overthrown, and her diviners and sorcerers will have no power to prevail, for Yahweh will destroy them.<sup>31</sup>

The Levitical code on this point, as on others, is individual in its precepts. It forbids the individual, on pain of God's direct retribution, to consult wizards or those who have familiar spirits.<sup>32</sup> The practice of such arts by man or woman is punishable by stoning to death.<sup>33</sup> The spirit of this legislation is even more severe than that

<sup>30</sup> See 2 K. 17<sup>17</sup> 21<sup>4</sup>, 7 23<sup>34</sup> Jer. 11<sup>21</sup> 23<sup>25, 27</sup> 29<sup>8</sup>, 21, 23 27<sup>18</sup> 44<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> See Is. 44<sup>25</sup> 27<sup>18</sup> Ez. 13<sup>6</sup>, 7, 28 12<sup>24</sup> 21<sup>26(21)</sup> 22<sup>23</sup>, 28.

<sup>32</sup> See Lev. 19<sup>31</sup> 20<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> See Lev. 20<sup>27</sup>.

of Deuteronomy, and is more directly addressed to the individual. Not only disloyalty in general, but each individual transgression is threatened with severest punishments. It is clear that the Levitical code emphasizes the sin of dishonoring the name of Yahweh.

1 Chr. 10<sup>13-14</sup> is in harmony with this law in spirit. Saul is condemned, not only for disobedience, but also because he consulted one who had a familiar spirit,<sup>84</sup> to inquire of it, and inquired not of the Lord. He is thus guilty of dishonoring God, and of not giving that respect to Him which is due to His great and holy name.

## VI.

**The Oath.** — The oath, in its relation to the third commandment, is of such importance that it demands special treatment.

In Hebrew, two terms are used for the oath: (1) אָלַף (comp. אָלַף = 'to lament, to wail'; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, makes it akin to אָלַף), lit. 'an invocation of woe upon oneself,' hence, 'an oath with an imprecation.' (2) שְׁבוּעָה (root שָׁבַע 'to be seavened'), which is usually interpreted to mean 'a declaration confirmed by seven victims,' or 'made before seven witnesses.' Both words are used frequently in the sense of 'oath.' The Septuagint has ὄρκος, Vulgate, *juramentum* or *jusjurandum*. When used of a curse, ἀπά and *maledictio* are the translations.

The oath existed among all primitive peoples. The definition given by Cicero seems to be correct: "It is an affirmation with a religious sanction."<sup>85</sup> It seems originally to have been of the same nature as the ordeal, and to have arisen from the conception that man, by certain acts and ceremonies, can compel the interference of the Divine to establish innocence or to detect guilt.<sup>86</sup> So in the case of the oath, vengeance is imprecated upon falsehood, and punishment is believed to be certain in case of its violation.<sup>87</sup> The appeal is made to that which is most highly revered or feared, and, consequently, this appeal changes with changing religious conceptions. In an age of spirit-worship we find oaths taken in the names of spirits, often those of the lower world, which are most feared. The oath is among the earliest religious conceptions with a moral basis. Even in primitive forms of worship spirits are appealed to as vindicators of

<sup>84</sup> Compare 1 Sam. 13<sup>18</sup> 15<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> See Cicero, *De Officiis*, III. 29.

<sup>86</sup> See Brinton, *Primitive Religions*, p. 226.

<sup>87</sup> McClintock and Strong, *Cyclopædia*, Vol. VII., art. "Oath."

justice.<sup>38</sup> The Greek of an early age swore by the gods of the lower world, and perjury was even then regarded as the most impious of all actions.<sup>39</sup>

The Hebrew oath seems to look back to an original magical conception of the world. This is seen in the ceremonies which accompany it. Lifting the hand is customary both in oaths and in incantations. Taking hold with the hand of that which is deemed most sacred is common to invocations and to incantations. The power invoked in both cases is called upon by name.  $\text{אֱלֹהִים}$  signifies 'the invoking of a power,' and calls for an imprecation to rest upon the one who makes the appeal. The root  $\text{שבע}$  (= to be seavened) doubtless had originally a similar conception, the sacred number seven being employed in magic rites. In Ethiopic, the word from the same root signifies 'enchanter.' Among the ancient Arabs, when they interchanged pledges, blood was shed and smeared on seven stones,<sup>40</sup> while the gods Orotal and Alilat were invoked.<sup>41</sup>

In the early Babylonian religion we find the conception of seven zones of the lower world, and seven gods presiding over these subterranean realms. Whether the appeal in the oath was made originally to these deities we are not able to discover; but that some such conception lay at the basis of the Hebrew oath seems a reasonable inference. Such customs, accordingly, as are referred to in Gen. 21<sup>22ff</sup> seem to be survivals of an early worship of spirits.

From what we have seen, it is clear that the oath in primitive times was closely connected with the general conception of the divine name. In it we meet with a specific application of a far-reaching principle of primitive life and thought.

In general, oaths in the Old Testament may be divided into three classes: (1) A covenant ratified by an oath; e.g. Gen. 26<sup>28</sup> 31<sup>53</sup> 2 Sam. 21<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings 11<sup>4</sup>. (2) An appeal to God in attestation of the truth of a statement; e.g. Ex. 22<sup>10(11)</sup> Gen. 24<sup>2-4</sup> Josh. 6<sup>26</sup> 2 Sam. 15<sup>21</sup> Gen. 50<sup>6, 25</sup> Josh. 9<sup>15</sup> 2 Sam. 19<sup>21</sup> Josh. 2<sup>12-21</sup>. (3) The judicial oath.

The appeal in the oath, among the Hebrews, as among other peoples, was made to their supreme deity. As the mention of the name of other deities was forbidden, so they were not to appeal to any other god than Yahweh in testifying by oath.<sup>42</sup> The oath, from what we have seen, is of the nature of a confession of faith; and so

<sup>38</sup> See Tiele, *Gifford Lectures* (1896).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Farnell, *Greek Cults*, Vol. I, pp. 47, 69 ff.; *Iliad*, XV. 37.

<sup>40</sup> See Herodotus, III. 8. <sup>41</sup> Compare the narrative in Gen. 21<sup>22, 32</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> See Josh. 23<sup>7</sup>. Compare with Ex. 23<sup>13</sup>.

swearing by any other god is an acknowledgment of that god. In all cases, therefore, where worshippers of Yahweh are concerned, the appeal is made to the divine under the name of Yahweh<sup>43</sup>; and only when covenant oaths are made with those outside Israel are other names employed.<sup>44</sup>

To understand more clearly this use of the divine name, we require to examine briefly the different phases of the oath.

1. In the early period of Israel's history, the oath is most frequently found in connection with covenants of friendship.

The *covenant* made with Abraham is regarded as the oath of Yahweh to him.<sup>45</sup> In this case there does not seem to be any sacrifice, but the name of Yahweh is solemnly invoked in an אלה<sup>46</sup>.

In Gen. 21<sup>22</sup> ff., the covenant of Abimelech with Abraham at Beer-sheba, we see several primitive customs. Presents are given, as appears to have been usual when covenant relations were entered upon. When the oath is taken, "the" seven lambs" are placed apart (see p. 184). In Gen. 24<sup>2</sup> ff. we find in connection with the oath several primitive conceptions. Placing the hand under the thigh illustrates the common practice when appealing to the divine, of laying the hand on what is deemed sacred. Laying hold of the horns of the altar is a familiar illustration of the same idea. The act referred to in this passage has special significance in view of the rite of circumcision, which is the outward sign of the covenant. The oath is sworn by the God of the covenant, indicating that all the parties concerned are in covenant relationship, and are bound together by this sacred tie.

Another reference to the oath taken on entering into covenant relations is found in Gen. 26<sup>28</sup> ff., in the account of the covenant entered into between Isaac and Abimelech.<sup>47</sup> They partake of a covenant feast, and next morning the covenant oath is taken. The narrative of Gen. 31<sup>23</sup> ff. is similar. After the taking of the oath, there follows a covenant meal, which expresses the covenant relationship.

The phrase כרת ברית (Gr. ὅρκια τέμνεισθαι, Lat. *foedus icire*) seems to refer to this covenant oath. The phrase in Greek (see Herod. iv. 70, 71; Hom. *Il.* iv. 155) has the meaning of taking an

<sup>43</sup> See Ex. 22<sup>11</sup> Gen. 14<sup>22</sup> (P) 1 Sam. 24<sup>21</sup>. <sup>22</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Gen. 21<sup>20</sup>. <sup>24</sup> (E) 1 Sam. 30<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> See Gen. 26<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> See Dillmann, *Com.* on Gen. 15.

<sup>47</sup> Gen. 21<sup>30</sup>, אלה שבע. Here אלה marks *determination*. Compare Dillmann, *Com. in loc.*

<sup>48</sup> The word for 'oath' used in v. <sup>28</sup> is אלה, and seems to be taken as equivalent to שבועה, v. <sup>30</sup>.

oath, then of making a covenant. The Hebrew words כרת and קם seem to have similar radical meaning, *vis.* 'to cut' or 'divide,' and evidently refer back to sacrifice, which accompanied early covenants as well as magical oaths or ordeals. This primitive oath was simply a magical conjuration, a fact that indicates clearly the similarity of the oath to the use of the divine name in general among primitive peoples.<sup>49</sup>

In early society moral obligations were not rigidly felt, and it would appear that the strenuous character of the oath was largely owing to this fact. As already stated, that which was most feared or was most calculated to impress with peculiar emphasis, was brought to bear on the person taking the oath. This is evident in the cases we have just noticed of the use of the oath in covenants. In these cases, just as in early invocations and incantations, ceremonies of a mystic character, such as the sacrificial meal, tended to give more emphasis to the binding character of the transactions. We cannot but notice how prominent a place the covenant oath occupied in this early period of Israel's history, and what a storehouse of primitive ideas is found in the literature which pictures the pre-Mosaic age.

2. Another form of the oath is that in which a private individual appeals to God, to attest the truth of a statement. This is the voluntary oath, a strong asseveration by an appeal to the Divine.

During the period of the kings this form of oath, judging from our sources, was exceedingly common. Asseverations were indulged in on all occasions, and this practice does not seem to have been regarded as particularly open to condemnation. The punishments imprecated upon oneself are not generally expressed, and a thoughtless air and very general lack of reverence characterizes the procedure. It may be that the older conception of the use of the divine name had lost its significance, while the higher and more spiritual conception resulting from the prophetic teaching had not yet become a living reality. Things most sacred are treated with a familiarity which doubtless tended to looseness in the use of the divine name in this special form of the oath.<sup>50</sup>

3. A third form of the oath is that which may properly be designated

<sup>49</sup> For a discussion of the term קם as to its early magical significance, see Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology*, p. 44 ff.

<sup>50</sup> See 1 Sam. 20<sup>17</sup>. Similar expressions occur eleven times in Samuel and Kings. See also the expressions found in 2 Sam. 12<sup>5</sup>, "as the Lord liveth"; 2 Sam. 14<sup>11</sup> 1 K. 1<sup>29</sup> 2<sup>24</sup> 18<sup>10</sup>. Compare 2 Sam. 15<sup>21</sup> 1 K. 19<sup>2</sup> 1 K. 20<sup>10</sup> 1 Sam. 1<sup>26</sup> and many similar expressions.

as the judicial oath. The book of the Covenant (Ex. 22<sup>6-12</sup>) gives an illustration of this kind of oath. In all such cases the parties concerned come before the judges,<sup>61</sup> who administer justice in the name of God (v.<sup>11</sup>). From the form of the expression used it is evident that the oath in this case was administered at special places where God made Himself known, and thus the parties were brought into such sacred relations that the oath took on a most solemn and sacred character.

The passage in 1 Kings 8<sup>31</sup> is similar in significance. The oath is peculiarly sacred as being taken in Yahweh's temple, at His altar, where His name is (v.<sup>29</sup>) (comp. 2 K. 11<sup>4</sup>). Here the temple takes the place of the early sanctuary, but the idea is the same. It would seem that something of the nature of the ordeal was still present in such oaths (see 1 K. 8<sup>32</sup>). The old forms remain while the thought has passed beyond the early, crude, material conceptions.<sup>62</sup>

The law of Deuteronomy, and the prophets from Amos to Jeremiah, regard the oath from their own exalted view of the divine name and character. They are pronounced against the abuse of the oath of Yahweh, which clearly demonstrates, they declare, a lack of true reverence among the people. By taking the oath of Yahweh they profess to be His, but they are lacking in the qualities of character which are demanded of those who would so use His name. The whole nation is guilty of perjury. They have violated the third commandment because of this *hypocritical* use of the name of Yahweh.<sup>63</sup>

The passage that gives the key to the later post-exilic conception of the oath is Lev. 19<sup>12</sup>: "Ye shall not swear by my name falsely, so that thou *profane* the name of thy God; I am the Lord."

The false oath is condemned because it is a *profaning* of the holy name of Yahweh.

It is evident from our survey that our position is correct — that throughout its whole history the oath was but a specific use of the divine name. The fundamental thought in the oath was the same as in the more general conception of the name.

In the foregoing pages an effort has been made to study the third commandment from the historic and the comparative points of view.

<sup>61</sup> אֱלֹדִים here is best understood as referring to the judges who give decisions as from Yahweh.

<sup>62</sup> Compare this form of the oath with the Arabic conception, as found in the story told in Bokhâri, 4, 219 ff.

<sup>63</sup> See such passages as Amos 8<sup>14</sup> Hos. 4<sup>16</sup> 10<sup>4</sup> Zeph. 1<sup>6</sup> Jer. 4<sup>2</sup> 5<sup>2</sup> 7 7<sup>9</sup> 12<sup>16</sup>.

The following propositions may be presented as the results of this discussion :

I. The history of the interpretation of this commandment reveals three distinct renderings, which result from different interpretations of the Hebrew word  $\text{שְׁמִי}$  : (a) Thou shalt not utter the name of Yahweh, thy God, for a bad or malicious purpose, etc. ; (b) . . . in vain, thoughtlessly, *profanely* ; (c) . . . *for falsehood*.

II. An inductive study of the word  $\text{שְׁמִי}$  reveals apparently an early and a later signification of the word ; the earlier corresponding to *a* in the previous paragraph, the later to *b*, while a more specific meaning in reference to witness-bearing corresponds to *c*.

III. A comparative study of conceptions regarding the divine name among early peoples reveals the universal fact that there was, in accordance with primitive realistic conceptions, a proper use of the divine name permitted to the worshipper, for good and beneficial purposes, while any *abuse* of the name, for bad or malicious purposes, was strongly condemned.

IV. An historical study of the phrase "name of Yahweh" ( $\text{שְׁמִי יְהוָה}$ ) in the Old Testament shows a conception of the divine name similar to that among outside peoples, but differing as the Hebrew idea of God differed from that of other peoples, and developing with the growing spiritual conceptions of the character and nature of God.

V. The Old Testament, in legislation and prophecy, discloses a permitted use of the divine name, while any unlawful use is sternly prohibited. Such use and abuse change ever in adaptation to the necessities of the age, and in harmony with a growing spirituality in the conception of God.

VI. The oath, in its origin, connects itself with the general primitive conception of the use and the abuse of the divine name ; and, in the Old Testament, comes under the scope of the prohibition of the third commandment as a specific use of the divine name.

## A Comparative Study of Psalm xlv.

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THE critical problems of Ps. 45 are well known, and have been variously discussed. For their full solution in detail it seems that a more thorough sifting of the lexical material is desirable, especially to determine, if possible, whether the poem as it now stands is or is not an original unit, and whether it is related closely to the style of other documents so as to suggest a historical connection with them, and out of these discussions to derive any light that can be had as to its full interpretation.

One of the curious features here, as in some other cases, is the variety of persons represented either as speaking, or as being spoken to, or as objects of reference. (a) In v.<sup>2</sup> the writer speaks in the first person of his poem and its composition. In v.<sup>18</sup> this point of view is apparently resumed, though it is conceivable that the subject is here either the collective Israel or even God dramatically introduced. Imperatives are found in vv.<sup>4, 8, 11, 12</sup> (with a possible optative in <sup>17</sup>), all proceeding apparently from the poet, but possibly also from either Israel or God. (b) The person most addressed and specially referred to seems to be "the king" who is explicitly mentioned in vv.<sup>2 & 12, 15, 16</sup>, but in vv.<sup>11-13</sup> we have an address to a "daughter," and the suffixes are feminine to the end of v.<sup>15</sup>. Whether every one of these latter is correctly pointed may be questioned, and also it is conceivable that the twenty occurrences of  $\text{ך}$ - may not all refer consistently to the same person, or, if to "the king," to him viewed in exactly the same sense. Indeed, who is meant by this appellation becomes a puzzling question the more it is examined. Is he a particular historic personage? Or the idealized theocracy? Or the Messiah definitely? Or Jahweh? Or are these various senses somehow intermingled in succession, or even in a kind of confusion? (c) Fully as perplexing are the female characters. Who is meant by  $\text{שִׁנִּי}$  in v.<sup>10</sup>, by  $\text{בֵּת}$  in v.<sup>11</sup>, and by  $\text{בֵּת-מֶלֶךְ}$  in v.<sup>14</sup>? And what is their relation to each other, to "the king," and to the general plan

of thought? The last of the three is attended by a train of בְּתוֹלוֹת, who probably present no special difficulty; but who are the בָּנוֹת מַלְכִים in v.<sup>10</sup>? (d) Several other classes are mentioned, all of which require consideration — such as the בְּנֵי אָדָם in v.<sup>3</sup>, the נְפִישִׁים in vv.<sup>6, 18</sup>, the חֲבֵרִים in v.<sup>4</sup>, עַמֶּךָ in v.<sup>11</sup>, the מְשִׁירֵי קֶם in v.<sup>13</sup>, and the אֹיְבֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ in v.<sup>6</sup> (instead of אֹיְבֵיךָ, as we might expect).

It is altogether probable that the elucidation of these several points will be advanced by comparing this psalm with the other "royal" psalms, and also with the Prophecies and the Histories. In the present study this comparison will be made chiefly by tracing out in detail the lines of verbal correspondence and usage, in the hope of establishing certain general literary relationships that can be used for exegetical purposes.

The usual list of "royal" psalms includes 2, 18, 20, 21, 61, 63, 72, 89, 110, 132, each of which has a greater or less similarity with 45. If one makes even a rapid summary of the thought-contents of these, he will see at once that the similarities between them and 45 are practically confined to the matters set forth in the latter in vv.<sup>3-8, 12-13, 17-18</sup>. There is in them nothing corresponding to the poet's introduction, to the direct address to the "daughter," or to the description of "the king's daughter." The points of contact with vv.<sup>12-13</sup> involve at the same time such differences as to seem less important than the rest. Of the 110 words constituting the vocabulary of 45, fully 60 occur in other "royal" psalms; and nearly all of these connecting words, so far as they have importance, are confined to vv.<sup>3-8, 17-18</sup>. Taking up these verbal connections in detail, we encounter a number of interesting suggestions.

Verse <sup>a</sup>. בְּנֵי אָדָם occurs in 21<sup>11</sup> and 89<sup>46</sup> of mankind as a whole. Of the 27 occurrences of this expression in Pss. (sg. and plur.) all have this broad sense except 49<sup>8</sup> 57<sup>6</sup> 58<sup>2</sup> 62<sup>10</sup>.

שִׁפְחוֹת occurs in 89<sup>35</sup> of *God's* utterance (as in 17<sup>4</sup>), in 21<sup>8</sup> of the *king's*, and in 63<sup>4, 6</sup> of the *speaker's*. Of the 10 other cases in Pss. where this figure is used in referring to *good* utterance, every one except 34<sup>14</sup> applies it to the speaker.

עָרֶיךָ occurs in this psalm three times, in v.<sup>18</sup> plainly to introduce a *parallel* thought (see note *ad loc.*), in v.<sup>8</sup>, apparently, to indicate a *result*, and here perhaps the same (as comparison with the thought of 21<sup>3-5</sup> would suggest).<sup>1</sup> It occurs also in 18<sup>50</sup> and 110<sup>7</sup>, and may perhaps be conjectured as the fuller reading in 61<sup>9</sup> and 63<sup>3, 5</sup>. Examination of its usage in general leaves it unclear how inherent is its definitely *illative* force. It seems to be a stylistic mark of a certain kind of

<sup>1</sup> Everything depends on the exact meaning of הִצֵּק חָן. See further notes below.

writing, and usually introduces something in the way of a note or comment outside the main drift of the passage. Often it introduces a restatement of the thought in other words, like our "that is" (*cf.* 73<sup>3</sup>).

ברך occurs of *God's* action in 132<sup>16</sup>, of *man's* in 72<sup>15, 17</sup>, and exclamatorily toward *God* in 184<sup>7</sup>. In the 21 other cases in Pss. of *God's* "blessing," the object is usually the Holy People (as in 28<sup>9</sup> 29<sup>11</sup> 147<sup>13</sup>).

לעולם occurs with reference to the perpetuity of the king's prosperity in 186<sup>4</sup> 21<sup>6</sup> 61<sup>8</sup> 72<sup>17</sup> 89<sup>5, 29</sup>. 27. 28.

Verse 4. חרב occurs of the king's might in 89<sup>44</sup>, and less definitely in 63<sup>11</sup>.

נבחר occurs in 89<sup>20</sup>, "I have laid help on a mighty one," further described as "chosen from the people" and entitled "David, My Servant." In 24<sup>8</sup> the word is used of *God*.

הודך is closely paralleled in 21<sup>6</sup>, "Glory and majesty Thou dost lay upon him." In other psalms the couplet is applied to *God* (96<sup>6</sup> 104<sup>1</sup> 111<sup>3</sup> 145<sup>6</sup>), or הוד alone (82 148<sup>13</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

Verse 5. רכב is used of *God* in 181<sup>1</sup> (*cf.* 68<sup>5, 34</sup>). In 20<sup>8</sup>, however, trust in "chariots" and "horses" is rebuked.

על-דרכך occurs in Pss. only here and in 79<sup>9</sup>. In the latter case it points to the *reason* of the action, not its object. If that be the sense here, then the qualities of "truth, meekness, and righteousness" inhere in the king or his impelling motive. But the matter is complicated by the curious expression in 110<sup>4</sup>, על-דרכי מלכי-צדק, which suggests that somehow there and here the same line of thought is intended.

אמת occurs in 61<sup>8</sup> 89<sup>16</sup> 132<sup>11</sup> as an attribute of *God*. This is the almost constant usage in Pss. (except 15<sup>2</sup> 51<sup>6</sup> 145<sup>18</sup>; perhaps 85<sup>12, 12</sup>).

ענתה is unique as here pointed. But in 18<sup>30</sup> we have ענתה used of *God*.<sup>3</sup>

צדק occurs of *men* in 182<sup>1, 25</sup> 132<sup>9</sup> 110<sup>4</sup> (in the name Melchizedek),<sup>4</sup> and of *God* in 72<sup>2</sup> 89<sup>16</sup>. The fem. צדקה also occurs of *God* in 72<sup>1, 3</sup> 89<sup>17</sup>. The masc. is used in Pss. both of men and of *God*, but the fem. always of *God* except in 99<sup>4</sup> 106<sup>3, 31</sup> 112<sup>3, 9</sup>. אמת and צדק occur together of *God* in 40<sup>11</sup> (fem.) 85<sup>11, 12</sup> 89<sup>16</sup> 119<sup>142, 160</sup>, and of men in 15<sup>2</sup>.

ימין occurs of *God* in 18<sup>36</sup> 20<sup>7</sup> 63<sup>2</sup> 89<sup>14</sup> 110<sup>1</sup>, and of *the king* in 21<sup>9</sup>, "Thy right hand shall find out thy haters," and 89<sup>26</sup>, "I will set his right hand on the rivers." Elsewhere in Pss. the word is always used of *God* or vaguely of "the right side."

איר occurs in the act. in 72<sup>5</sup>, "They shall fear thee (*the king*)," and in the pass. in 89<sup>8</sup> (of *God's* terribleness). The form טראות occurs in Pss. only in 65<sup>6</sup> 106<sup>22</sup> 145<sup>6</sup>, all of *God's* deeds.

Verse 6. חץ occurs in 181<sup>6</sup> of a weapon of *God* (*cf.* 7<sup>14</sup> 38<sup>3</sup> 64<sup>8</sup> 144<sup>6</sup>). Usually in Pss. it is used of the attacks of enemies (112 57<sup>5</sup> 58<sup>5</sup> 64<sup>4</sup> 91<sup>5</sup>), but in 120<sup>4</sup> 127<sup>4</sup> we have a conjunction with נבחר that suggests a proverbial usage.

עמים occurs in 184<sup>8</sup>, "The *God* that subdueth peoples under me," and in 89<sup>61</sup>, "The reproach . . . of all the many peoples." Though a frequent word in Pss., it stands in close proximity to אים only here and in 56<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Cheyne: "These are divine attributes."

<sup>3</sup> But Olshausen and Wellhausen read ענתה.

<sup>4</sup> Also in 72<sup>7</sup>, according to the reading of Wellhausen.

**יִפְּלוּ תַחְתֵּי יְרֵכְךָ** is closely paralleled in 18<sup>30</sup>, "They shall fall under my feet," and the thought is reiterated in 18<sup>40, 48</sup> 20<sup>9</sup> and elsewhere.

**אֹיְבֶיךָ** occurs in 18<sup>4, 18, 38, 41, 49</sup> 21<sup>9</sup> 61<sup>4</sup> 72<sup>9</sup> 89<sup>11, 23, 62</sup> 110<sup>1, 2</sup> 132<sup>18</sup>, all of which except 89<sup>11, 62</sup> refer explicitly to the *king's* (or the speaker's) enemies rather than God's. The community of idea between all these passages is obvious. (The shift here from the second person in the first two lines to the third person in the last is paralleled in 110 by the change from vv. 1-4 to vv. 5-7.)

The structure of the verse as it stands is unbalanced and obscure. Either something has dropped out before **בְּלִבְךָ**, or, more probably, the second line has been inserted roughly in imitation of 18. (See further notes below.)

Verse 7. **בְּסֵא** occurs in 89<sup>6, 80, 87</sup> 132<sup>11, 12</sup> of *David's* throne, all the passages in 89 being like this in force, and in 89<sup>16</sup> of *God's* throne. With the former usage cf. 122<sup>5</sup>; with the latter cf. 9<sup>6, 8</sup> 11<sup>4</sup> 47<sup>9</sup> 93<sup>2</sup> 97<sup>2</sup> 103<sup>19</sup>, though the idea of perpetuity is included only in 9<sup>8</sup> and perhaps in 93<sup>2</sup> 103<sup>19</sup>.

**אֱלֹהִים** as it stands in the text presents a *crux* for the interpreter, which has been variously disposed of. The parallels in 89<sup>5, 37-38</sup> suggest that the missing verb is **בָּן**. It may, therefore, be conjectured that **אֱלֹהִים** here is a corruption of **אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק** or **אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק**. The occurrence of the abbreviated **אֱלֹהִים** as subject is supported by the analogy of 18<sup>31, 38, 48</sup> 89<sup>8</sup>, if not by 18<sup>3</sup> 89<sup>7, 27</sup>. This solution of the difficulty is certainly simpler than several that have been offered. (See also a further note on the possible corrected reading on p. 207.)

**וְעַתָּה** occurs in full in 21<sup>6</sup>, and the query may well be raised whether 89<sup>38</sup> may not be in disorder and hence wrongly pointed, since there we find **בֵּין עַתָּה וְעַתָּה**. The transfer of **וְעַתָּה** to the second line there would improve the parallelism with v. 37 and would increase the probability of the above suggested reading here.

**שָׁבַת** occurs in 2<sup>9</sup> 89<sup>33</sup>, but in a different sense.

Verse 8. **צָרָךְ** (see v. 6 above).

**שָׁנָא** occurs in 18<sup>18, 41</sup> 21<sup>9</sup> 89<sup>34</sup>, but not in this sense.

The general attitude of "loving" what is good is expressed in 34<sup>18</sup> 40<sup>17</sup> 70<sup>6</sup> 99<sup>4</sup> 119<sup>47, 48, 97, 113, 119, 127, 149, 169, 169, 165, 167</sup>, and of "hating" what is evil in 101<sup>8</sup> 119<sup>104, 113, 128, 168</sup>.

**עַל־בֶּן** (see v. 3 above). Here the direct illative force seems to be present, unless, possibly, the first line here belongs to v. 7.

**אֱלֹהִים** seems to be the Elohist form of **אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק**, as in 43<sup>4</sup> 50<sup>7</sup> 67<sup>7</sup>. The only (indistinct) parallel is 89<sup>9</sup>.

**מִשְׁחָךְ** suggests 2<sup>2</sup> 18<sup>61</sup> 20<sup>7</sup> 89<sup>21, 89, 52</sup> 132<sup>10, 17</sup>. Other occurrences are 28<sup>8</sup> 84<sup>10</sup> 105<sup>16</sup>, — all with the form **מִשְׁחָיִךְ**.

**שֶׁמֶן** occurs in 89<sup>21</sup>, "With My holy oil have I anointed him." Other occurrences are 23<sup>6</sup> 92<sup>11</sup> 104<sup>15</sup> 133<sup>2</sup> 141<sup>6</sup>.

Verse 17. **בְּנֵיךָ** suggests 72<sup>1</sup>, "The king's son," and especially 89<sup>31</sup>, "If his children forsake My law, etc." and 132<sup>12</sup>, "If thy children keep My covenant, . . . their children also shall sit upon thy throne for ever."

**פֶּתֶךָ** occurs in regard to the *king* in 21<sup>4, 7</sup> 110<sup>1</sup> 132<sup>11</sup>, "Of thy body's fruit will I set upon thy throne." 21<sup>7</sup> is striking, "Thou makest him to be blessing for aye." The subject is uniformly *God*, as usually in Pss.

**בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ** in its connection, referring to the widespread dominion of the king's

<sup>5</sup> So Wellhausen.

family, strongly suggests 22.<sup>6, 10</sup> 72<sup>8</sup> 89<sup>12, 28</sup> 110<sup>6</sup>. Of these the more notable parallels are 2<sup>9</sup>, "I will give the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession"; 72<sup>8</sup>, "He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the River unto the ends of the earth"; and 89<sup>28</sup>, "I will make him My first-born, the highest of the kings of the earth."

Verse 18.  $\text{אֶל־יְהוָה}$  presents an interesting question.  $\text{יְהוָה}$  occurs in 20<sup>4, 6, 63</sup> 89<sup>48, 61</sup> 132<sup>1</sup>, usually in an imperative demand upon God, but in 20<sup>6</sup> 63<sup>7</sup> in a devout protestation of trust. None of these are parallel to the usage here except 20<sup>8</sup>. But, on the other hand, we have in 18<sup>60</sup>, "I will *sing praises* to Thy name"; in 21<sup>14</sup>, "We will sing and *praise* thy power"; and in 61<sup>9</sup>, "I will *sing praise* to Thy name for ever"—all in final verses, as here. These, especially when reënforced by the analogy of 7<sup>18</sup> 9<sup>2</sup> 27<sup>6</sup> 30<sup>18</sup> 57<sup>8, 19</sup> 59<sup>[10]</sup> 18 66<sup>4</sup> 71<sup>22, 28</sup> 75<sup>10</sup> 92<sup>2</sup> 101<sup>1</sup> 104<sup>31</sup> 108<sup>2, 4</sup> 138<sup>1</sup> 144<sup>9</sup> 146<sup>2</sup>, etc., create a strong presumption that the original reading here was  $\text{אֶל־יְהוָה}$ .<sup>7</sup> This would also perfect the parallelism of the verse.

$\text{שֵׁם}$  occurs in 18<sup>60</sup> 20<sup>2, 6, 8</sup> 61<sup>9, 9</sup> 63<sup>5</sup> 72<sup>17</sup> (*his*) 89<sup>18, 17, 28</sup>, always of *God's* name except in 72<sup>17</sup>, "His name shall endure for ever; his name shall be continued as long as the sun."

$\text{יְהוָה יְרֵךְ}$  occurs in 61<sup>7</sup> 72<sup>5</sup> 89<sup>2, 6</sup>, always of the *king's* life or rule except in 89<sup>2</sup>. The form in 72<sup>6</sup> is  $\text{יְהוָה יְרֵךְ}$ .

$\text{שָׁלֵכֵן}$  occurs in just this connection in 18<sup>61</sup>. (See also under vv.<sup>2, 8</sup> above.)

$\text{עֲמִים}$  (see under v.<sup>6</sup>).

$\text{יְהוָה}$  occurs in the same form in 18<sup>61</sup> (except for the suffix) and in a different one in 89<sup>6</sup>. Both are directed toward *God*.

$\text{לְעַלְמֵךְ}$  (see under v.<sup>7</sup>).

A number of indications combine to reënforce the text-emendation suggested above, and to show that this verse is a liturgical *addendum* to the poem. All its salient features are those of a type of expression peculiar to the Psalter and associated with its apparent purpose as a collection.

Of the 56 separate words found in the verses thus far considered, 39 occur in other "royal" psalms, most largely in 89 and 18, and least so in 2, 20, 63. Of the almost 40 distinct similarities of usage that have been traced, fully two-thirds lead to 89, about one-half to 18, about one-quarter to 21, 61, 72, 110, 132, not more than one-sixth to 20, 63, and only 2 to 2.

The words or expressions *not* found in other "royal" psalms may be rapidly listed as follows:—

Verse 3. "Thou art *fairer*." "Grace is *poured*."

Verse 4. "Circ . . . on thy *thigh*."

Verse 5. "Ride! *prosper*!" "Shall *teach* thee."

Verse 6. "Thine *arrows* are *sharp*." "In the *heart* of."

Verse 7. "A *sceptre* of *equity* is the sceptre of thy *kingdom*."

<sup>6</sup> Doubted, however, in v.<sup>8</sup> by Wellhausen.

<sup>7</sup> Note, however, that the LXX has the *third* person *plural*,  $\mu\eta\tau\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$ . See Grätz's deductions; also Duhm's.

Verse 8. "Thou hast *loved* . . . , and *hated wickedness*." "*Gladness* above thy fellows."

Verse 17. "*Instead of thy fathers*." "*Princes*."

It will be seen at a glance that several of these are really paralleled by expressions of the same thought in other forms. For instance, the progress of thought from v.<sup>20</sup> to <sup>26</sup> may be the same as from 21<sup>3</sup> to 21<sup>4-7</sup>, and as suggested also in 61<sup>6-8</sup> and in 132; the various phrases regarding the king's military prowess remind us of many expressions in 18, 72, 89, 110; the attribution of beneficent qualities to his rule is conspicuously reiterated in 72; and his superiority to all other earthly rulers is emphasized in 2, 72, 89, at least.

It may be confidently asserted, then, that these several psalms are intimately connected with each other by more circumstances than the mere mention in them all of "the king," and that there is little in these verses here that is not sufficiently paralleled in the others as to both verbal usage and general thought-attitude. One of the interesting results of such a detailed comparison as this is the intimation that several of the features which here might be supposed to indicate that "the king" is merely a human chieftain are shown to be connected in the other psalms with the superior government of God or the qualities of His nature.<sup>8</sup>

When we turn to the middle sections of 45, we are at once struck by the vagueness of the resemblances with the other "royal" psalms except in vv.<sup>12-15</sup>.

Verse 9. שָׂמֵחַ occurs in 21<sup>2</sup> 63<sup>7-2</sup> of the king's "rejoicing" in God.

Verse 10. מַלְכִּים occurs in reference to earthly rulers in general, as probably here, in 2<sup>2</sup> 10 72<sup>13</sup> (*ibid.*) 11 89<sup>28</sup> 110<sup>6</sup>.

מִיָּדְיָהּ reminds us very slightly of 72<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> It is aside from the present purpose to reverse the comparison and see how far what is found in other "royal" psalms is *not* found here. But we may note in passing that there is one conspicuous feature of 18, 21, 89, which is wholly wanting in 45. This is the detailed recounting of the lamentable triumph of "the enemies" and the consequent distress of the speaker or of "the king." This is specially striking in 89<sup>28-32</sup>. In that case the complaint of those whose relation to "the king" leads them to expect a peace and prosperity which they do not have stands quite by itself, and has several points of peculiarity. It is curious that one of the passages notably akin to this constitutes the second half of 44, and consequently in the Psalter collection lies as closely contiguous to 45 as 89<sup>28-32</sup> does to 89<sup>20-38</sup>. It is also curious that a similar contrast of tone and treatment exists between 71 and 72 and also between 109 and 110. To discuss these phenomena would carry us too far away from our immediate subject.

בִּנְיָ occurs in 2<sup>2</sup>, but with no likeness.

לִי־יִשְׁכֵּנִי occurs in 110<sup>1, 5</sup>.

Verse 11. שִׁשְׁשָׁה and אֶחָד occur in 18<sup>16</sup>, and the former also in 132<sup>6</sup>, but with no significance.

עַמִּי occurs in the sing. of a foreign people in 18<sup>41</sup>, but the text there is doubtful (see 2 Sam. 22).

עַמִּי occurs in 89<sup>27</sup>.

Verse 12. יִשְׁכֵּנִי occurs of *Jahweh's* love for Zion in 132<sup>13, 14</sup>, "He hath desired it for His habitation"; "Here will I dwell, for I have desired it." This bears importantly upon the meaning of עַמִּי.

יִשְׁכֵּנִי occurs in 2<sup>4</sup> 89<sup>60, 61</sup> 110<sup>1, 5</sup>, — only in 110<sup>1</sup> referring clearly to "the king," though 110<sup>5</sup> may also be so read.

יִשְׁכֵּנִי occurs in 72<sup>11</sup> of reverence to "the king," "All kings shall fall down before him," and in 132<sup>7</sup> of worshipping *God*.

Verse 13. מִלְכֵי־תַרְשִׁישׁ suggests the close parallel in 72<sup>13</sup>, "The kings of Tarshish and the isles shall bring presents; the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts." Cf. 20<sup>4</sup> also, where the sense is different.

Verse 14. כֶּסֶף occurs in 72<sup>16</sup>, "To him shall be given of the gold of Sheba."

Verse 15. בֵּית occurs in a curiously parallel sense in 132<sup>6, 7</sup> of entering the *Sanctuary*, — which at once raises a question about the meaning of בֵּית־יִשְׁכֵּנִי here in vv. 9, 16. (See note later.)

Verse 16. שִׂמְחָה occurs in 21<sup>7</sup>, "Thou makest him glad with joy in Thy presence."

Of these lines of connection those with 72 are certainly striking, and various points in vv. 12, 13, 15 offer hints as to the probable meaning of the whole passage. Analogy, so far as it goes, would imply that v. 15 was more properly directed toward "the king" than toward the "daughter," though if by the latter Zion is intended, the notable parallel is suggested in 68<sup>30</sup>, "Because of Thy temple at Jerusalem kings shall bring a present [שִׁשְׁשָׁה] unto Thee."

After allowing for these points, there still remain entirely unparalleled in other "royal" psalms the various details by which royal splendor is indicated in vv. 9-10, 14-15 and the address to the "daughter" in vv. 11-12.

The further elucidation of the poem will depend very largely upon the force attributed to the term בֵּית in v. 11. If this be understood to refer simply to a royal bride, the interpreter is shut up to conjectures as to which of the various royal marriages in the historical books may be here in mind. Of such conjectures there is already a sufficient variety.

But it is worth querying seriously whether the address to the "daughter" is not rather directed toward the personified Holy City,

the fuller form being "Daughter of Zion," or "of Jerusalem," or "of my people." The answer to this question is to be sought by comparing, not only these verses, but the entire psalm, with the passages in the Prophecies in which these fuller forms appear. Such a comparison is likely to shed light on the whole problem before us.

The expression "Daughter of Zion" occurs in Is. 1<sup>8</sup> 10<sup>22</sup> 16<sup>1</sup> 37<sup>22</sup> 52<sup>2</sup> 62<sup>11</sup> Jer. 4<sup>31</sup> 6<sup>2, 23</sup> Lam. 1<sup>6</sup> 2<sup>1, 4, 8, 10, 13, 18</sup> 4<sup>22</sup> Mic. 1<sup>15</sup> 4<sup>8, 10, 15</sup> Zeph. 3<sup>14</sup> Zech. 2<sup>14</sup> 9<sup>9</sup>. In several instances "Daughter of Jerusalem" also appears as a variant of this. The Jeremianic expression "Daughter of my people" appears in Is. 22<sup>4</sup> Jer. 4<sup>11</sup> 6<sup>[14]</sup> 20<sup>8</sup> 8<sup>11, 13, 21, 22, 23</sup> 9<sup>9</sup> 14<sup>17</sup> Lam. 2<sup>11</sup> 3<sup>48</sup> 4<sup>3, 6, 10</sup>. A rapid survey shows that several of these occurrences are imbedded in extended Messianic passages that present such marked verbal similarities to our psalm as to demand careful study. A condensed summary of these passages may well be introduced at this point.

Is. 10<sup>22</sup> occurs in the long introduction to the famous Messianic passage in ch. 11, with its appended psalm in ch. 12. Notable verbal contacts with our psalm occur in 11<sup>4-5, 10</sup> 12<sup>1, 4, 6</sup>, with which compare vv. 5, 7-8, 13-14, 18 here. The most striking connecting words are צֶדֶק and מִשְׁפָּר in 11<sup>4</sup>, קְבוֹר in 11<sup>10</sup> (see the discussion of בְּחַיֵּי הַמָּלְךְ below), and the phrases in 12<sup>1, 4</sup>.

Is. 16<sup>1</sup> occurs in the lament over Moab that occupies chs. 15-16, including the striking v. 5, "And a throne shall be established in mercy, and one shall sit thereon in truth, in the tent of David, judging and seeking judgment, and swift to do righteousness." The connection of this with vv. 5, 7-8 of our psalm is obvious. In 16<sup>13</sup> occurs the phrase שְׂמֵחָה וְנִיל, almost as in Ps. 45<sup>10</sup>, though the line of thought is reversed. (With Is. 16<sup>6</sup> cf. 32<sup>1</sup>, etc.)

Is. 52<sup>2</sup> and 62<sup>11</sup> occur in the very extended psalm of triumph that characterizes the whole Deutero-Isaianic writing. The verbal contacts of these eloquent passages with our psalm are numerous and will be presented more fully later.

Jer. 8<sup>19</sup> occurs in immediate conjunction with the "cry from a land very far off, Is not Jahweh in Zion? is not her King in her?" and leads at length into the comforting assurances of 9<sup>22-23</sup> 10<sup>6-11</sup>, etc. (cf. ch. 10 with Pss. 89 and 18).

Mic. 4<sup>5, 18</sup> occur in connection with the long Messianic passage occupying chs. 4-5, opening with the reference to "the mountain of Jahweh's house," and including predictions like v. 7, "Jahweh shall be King over them in Mount Zion from henceforth even for ever" (cf. Is. 24<sup>23</sup>), and like 5<sup>1-3</sup>, "Thou, Bethlehem Ephrathah . . . out of thee shall One come forth unto Me that is to be ruler in Israel . . . great unto the ends of the earth."

Zeph. 3<sup>11, 14</sup> occur in the midst of the passage regarding the ultimate felicity of "the remnant." Notable is the statement in v. 10 that "My suppliants . . . shall bring Mine offering," and the triumphant notes of vv. 14, 17, 20, "Sing . . . shout . . . be glad and rejoice . . . Jahweh thy God is in thy midst, a Mighty One who will save; He will rejoice over thee with joy . . . will joy over thee with singing." Besides the more obvious verbal contacts with our psalm, observe that "Jahweh thy God" corresponds with the probable original of Ps. 45<sup>6</sup>.

Zech. 2<sup>14</sup> and 9<sup>9</sup> occur in connection with the elaborate treatment of the Return and the restoration of the Temple which prove to have so many contacts with our psalm as to require special study.

Of course, if the occurrences of צִיּוֹן in the plur. were sifted, some of them would probably point to further parallels. And the moment that the reference in our psalm is supposed to be to the personified City, the whole scope of inquiry is broadened almost without limit, at least as concerns the prophetic writings.

It remains to note that the only occurrence of צִיּוֹן in the sing. in the Pss. in the sense now under consideration is in 9<sup>15</sup> (cf. 137<sup>8</sup>).

Without pursuing at this point all the possible lines of comparison, we will now content ourselves with considering in detail all the verbal contacts between our psalm and the prophecies, bringing into prominence Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, since even a hasty glance shows that these abound in suggestions. Passages that may be related to the psalm will be quoted *verbatim*, and in each case references will be added enough to indicate the scope of usage throughout the Old Testament. For convenience, we will take up the sections of the psalm each by itself.

Verse 2. צִיּוֹן, as a source of *joyful* utterance (excluding references to merriness from wine), only in Zeph. 3<sup>14</sup>, "Be glad and rejoice with all the heart, O daughter of Jerusalem"; Is. 65<sup>13</sup>, "My servants shall sing for joy of heart"; 66<sup>14</sup>, "Ye shall see it and your heart shall rejoice"; Zech. 10<sup>7</sup>, "Their heart [Ephraim's] shall rejoice"; also 13 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; 4 in other poetry; 11 in Pss.; once each in Ex., Jdg., Kgs., Chr., Esth.

דְּבַר טוֹב, only in Jer. 29<sup>10</sup>, "After seventy years . . . I will visit you, and perform My good word toward you"; 33<sup>14</sup>, "I will perform that good word which I have spoken"; Zech. 1<sup>13</sup>, "The angel talked with me with good words." Also twice in Prov.; fairly common in Histories, and thrice in Josh.

סִפְרָה (see v. 6 below).

לִשָּׁן, as a figure of *good* utterance, only in Is. 50<sup>4</sup>, "The Lord Jahweh hath given me the tongue of them that are taught"; 35<sup>6</sup>, "The tongue of the dumb shall sing"; also Is. 45<sup>23</sup>; 9 times in Job and Prov.; twice in other poetry; 9 times in Pss.; not in Hex. or Hists.

טֵט, only in Jer. 8<sup>8</sup>, "The false pen of the scribes"; 17<sup>1</sup> Job 19<sup>24</sup>.

סוּפֶר, used generally, not as a title, only in Is. 33<sup>18</sup> Jer. 8<sup>8</sup> Ezk. 9<sup>2-3</sup>; once in Jdg.; 6 times in Chr. and Ezra.

מְהֵרָה, only in Is. 16<sup>6</sup>, "Swift to do righteousness"; Prov. 22<sup>29</sup> Ezra 7<sup>6</sup> (with סוּפֶר).

Words not enumerated: רָחֵם (A.A.), אֶמֶר, אֲנִי, מִשְׁפָּחָה (which seems to be unique as here used<sup>9</sup>).

<sup>9</sup> So Olshausen. Theodoret renders it by τὰ ποιῆματά μου. Is this, by the way, an evidence of Greek influence? So Duhm.

Verse <sup>a</sup>. פָּאֵר, only in Jer. 4<sup>30</sup>, "In vain dost thou [Jerusalem] make thyself fair"; 10<sup>4</sup>; Ezk. 16<sup>13</sup>, "Thou [Jerusalem] wast exceeding fair"; 31<sup>7</sup> Cant. 4<sup>10</sup> 7<sup>1, 6</sup> 10.

פָּאֵר, in plur., only in Jer. 32<sup>19</sup>; Is. 52<sup>14</sup>, "His visage was marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men"; Ezk. 31<sup>13</sup> Joel 1<sup>12</sup> Mic. 5<sup>7</sup> Dan. 10<sup>16</sup>; 12 times in Prov. and Eccl.; Deut. 32<sup>8</sup>; often in Pss.; once in Gen.; 4 times in the Hists.

פָּאֵר, *Hophal*, only thrice in Job; once in Lev.; 4 times in Hists.

פָּאֵר, as a personal *characteristic*, excluding use with פָּאֵר and פָּאֵר (though these might be pertinent if פָּאֵר were suspected of being a corruption of some form of the former), only in Zech. 4<sup>1</sup>, "He shall bring forth the headstones with shoutings of Grace, grace, to it"; 12<sup>10</sup>, "I will pour [פָּאֵר] upon David's house and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and supplication"; Nah. 3<sup>4</sup>; 13 times in Prov. and Eccl.; Ps. 84<sup>12</sup>; 4 times in Gen. and Ex.

פָּאֵר, of *good* utterance by *men*, only in Jer. 17<sup>11</sup>, "That which came out of my lips was before Thy face"; Is. 57<sup>13</sup>, "I create the fruit of the lips, Peace, peace, to the far off"; Mal. 2<sup>6, 7</sup>, "Unrighteousness was not found in his lips [Levi's]"; Is. 6<sup>7</sup>, "Lo, this hath touched thy lips [Isaiah's]"; 11<sup>4</sup>, "He shall smite the earth . . . and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked"; Hos. 14<sup>2</sup>, "So will we render the fruit(?) of our lips"; Zeph. 3<sup>9</sup>, "I will turn to the peoples a pure lip, that they may call upon the name of Jahweh"; Dan. 10<sup>16</sup>; also 34 times in Job, Prov., Cant.; 14 times in Pss.; 1 Sam. 1<sup>13</sup>(?).

It is not clear whether the line refers to "the king's" *eloquence*,<sup>11</sup> or *poetic gift*,<sup>12</sup> or *facial expression*.<sup>13</sup> The parallel in Ps. 21 suggests faith and urgency in prayer!

פָּאֵר, or the shorter פָּאֵר, is a very favorite connective with Jer. and Ezk. (out of about 340 occurrences in the Old Testament, each of these books has nearly 70), but is but moderately used in Proto-Is., and is rare in the later Prophets (Is. 50<sup>7</sup> 51<sup>21</sup> 52<sup>6</sup> 53<sup>12</sup> 57<sup>13</sup> 59<sup>9</sup> 61<sup>7</sup> Hag. 1<sup>10</sup> Zech. 1<sup>16</sup> 10<sup>2</sup> 11<sup>7</sup>). It is fairly common in Job, but rare in the other poetical books; 18 times in Pss.; common in the Hex. and Hists.

פָּאֵר, *Piel* and *Hithpacl*, only in Jer. 4<sup>2</sup>, "The nations shall bless themselves in him" (at the Return); 31<sup>23</sup>, "Jahweh bless thee, O habitation of justice, O mountain of holiness"; Is. 51<sup>2</sup>; 61<sup>9</sup>, "The seed which Jahweh hath blessed"; 65<sup>16</sup>, "He who blessed himself in the earth shall bless himself in the God of truth"; 66<sup>3</sup>; Hag. 2<sup>19</sup>, "From this day [the founding of the Temple] will I bless"; also in Is. 19<sup>26</sup>; 13 times in Job and Prov.; over 70 times in Pss.; common in Hex. and Hists.

פָּאֵר does not appear with פָּאֵר in the Prophecies, Job, or Prov., though fairly frequent in Pss. (see vv. 7, 18 below).

Not enumerated: פָּאֵר.

Verse <sup>a</sup>. פָּאֵר, of weapons, only in Deut. 1<sup>41</sup>; 10 times in Hists.

פָּאֵר, of force used by Israel against her enemies, only in Is. 41<sup>2</sup>, "He giveth nations before him [one from the east], and maketh him rule over kings; He

<sup>11</sup> If the form here is corrupted from פָּאֵר 'פָּאֵר, as implied by LXX. See on פָּאֵר, v. 12, below, p. 209.

<sup>12</sup> So most commentators.

<sup>13</sup> So Grätz.

<sup>14</sup> So Baethgen.

giveth them as the dust to his sword, as the driven stubble to his bow"; 49<sup>2</sup>, "He hath made my mouth [the Servant's] like a sharp sword"; Jer. 48<sup>2, 11</sup>, "The sword shall pursue thee [Moab]"; "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood"; Mic. 5<sup>6</sup>, "They [the seven shepherds] shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword"; Zech. 9<sup>13</sup>, "I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, . . . and will make thee as the sword of a mighty man." This list does not include the many instances, especially in *Proph.*-Is., Jer., and Ezk., where God is represented as sending "a sword" upon the nations, but without intimating that it is to be wielded by Israel.

קֶרֶן, of the thigh proper in connection with a weapon, only in Ex. 32<sup>27</sup> Jdg. 3<sup>16, 21</sup> Cant. 3<sup>8</sup>.

גִּבּוֹרִים, of *men*, 46 times in the Prophecies, 7 in Prov., Eccl., and Cant.; 17 in Pss. and other poems; 9 in Hex.; 24 in early Hists. and 43 in later ones. Notable instances for the present comparison are Is. 42<sup>13</sup>, "Jahweh shall go forth as a mighty man"; Zeph. 3<sup>17</sup>, "Jahweh thy God is in thy midst, a mighty one who will save"; Zech. 9<sup>13</sup>, "I will make thee as the sword of a mighty man"; 10<sup>6, 7</sup>, "They [of Ephraim] shall be like mighty men."

הִלָּל, of *men*, only in Jer. 22<sup>18</sup>; Zech. 6<sup>13</sup>, "He [Joshua] shall bear the glory"; Hos. 14<sup>6</sup>, "His beauty [Israel's] shall be as the olive tree"; Dan. 10<sup>6</sup> 11<sup>21</sup>; once each in Job, Num., Chr.

יָפָא, of *men*, only in Is. 53<sup>2</sup>, "He hath no form or comeliness"; Ezk. 16<sup>14</sup>, "Thy beauty [Jerusalem] . . . was perfect through My majesty that I have put upon thee"; 27<sup>11</sup> (of Tyre); also Is. 54<sup>1</sup>; 5 times in Job, Prov., and other poetry; 3 in Pss. הִלָּל and יָפָא occur together only in Job 40<sup>11</sup>. הִלָּל is used of God only in Is. 30<sup>31</sup> Hab. 3<sup>4</sup> Job 37<sup>22</sup> 1 Chr. 29<sup>11</sup>; and יָפָא similarly only in Is. 2<sup>10, 19, 21</sup> 35<sup>2</sup> Mic. 2<sup>9</sup>. (For references in Pss., see above.)

Not enumerated: הָלַל.

Verse 6. יִהְיֶה is probably a dittograph.<sup>14</sup>

פָּלַח, *Qal*, outside of Hex. and Hists., only in Jer. 12<sup>1</sup> 13<sup>7, 10</sup> 22<sup>20</sup>, "No man of his seed [Coniah's] shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David"; Is. 53<sup>10</sup>, "The pleasure of Jahweh shall prosper in his hand"; 54<sup>17</sup>, "No weapon formed against thee shall prosper"; Ezk. 15<sup>4</sup>; 16<sup>13</sup>, "Thou [Jerusalem] didst prosper unto royal estate"; 17<sup>6, 11, 15</sup>, "Shall it (or, he) [rebellious Israel] prosper?" Dan. 11<sup>27</sup> Am. 5<sup>6</sup> (?). *Hiphil*, outside of Hex. and Hists., only in Jer. 2<sup>27</sup> 5<sup>28</sup>; 32<sup>6</sup>, "Though ye fight with the Chaldeans, ye shall not prosper"; Is. 48<sup>16</sup>, "I have brought him [the Servant], and he shall make his way prosperous"; 55<sup>12</sup>, "My word . . . shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it"; Dan. 8<sup>12, 24, 26</sup> 11<sup>30</sup> Prov. 28<sup>13</sup>; 4 times in Pss.

רָכַב, of *men*, is common in Hex. and Hists. (notably 1 Kgs. 1, of Solomon), and is scattered through the Prophecies. Notable instances are Is. 58<sup>14</sup>, "I will make thee [Israel] to ride upon the high places of the earth"; Zech. 1<sup>8</sup>, "Behold, a man riding upon a red horse"; 9<sup>9</sup>, "Thy king cometh . . . riding upon an ass"; Hos. 10<sup>11</sup>, "I will set a rider upon Ephraim."

סֵלֶךְ, only in Jer. 7<sup>22</sup> 14<sup>1</sup>; also 14 times in Pent.; 3 in Hists.; 2 in Pss. סֵלֶכֶת occurs only thrice in Eccl., besides Ps. 110<sup>4</sup>.

אָמַת and אָמַתָּה (or fem.), in conjunction, only in Jer. 4<sup>2</sup>, "Thou shalt swear

<sup>14</sup> So Hupfeld, Olshausen, Cheyne, Wellhausen, etc., as against the LXX.

... in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness"; Is. 48<sup>1</sup>, "Which swear by the name of Jahweh . . . but not in truth nor in righteousness"; 59<sup>14</sup>, "Judgment is turned away backward, and righteousness standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the street and uprightness cannot enter"; 16<sup>5</sup>, "A throne . . . and one shall sit thereon in truth . . . swift to do righteousness"; Zech. 8<sup>8</sup>, "They shall be My people, and I will be their God, in truth and righteousness"; also Is. 10<sup>3-7</sup> 61<sup>8-11</sup>; Prov. 8<sup>7-8</sup> (of Wisdom) and twice besides; 3 times in Hists. (For references in Pss., see above.)

נִנְּךָ, as here pointed, is א.ל. נִנְּךָ, only in Zeph. 2<sup>8</sup>, "Seek righteousness, seek meekness"; 3 times in Prov.; once in Sam.<sup>16</sup>

צֶדֶק is confined to the Prophecies and the Wisdom writings, except 5 times in Lev.; 6 in Deut.; 17 in Pss.; but the fem. appears also freely in Gen., Deut., and Hists., though very rarely of God.

יָרָה in the sense of "shoot" is wanting from the Prophecies, and outside of Hex. and Hists. occurs only thrice in Job and Prov.; but in the sense of "teach" (*Hiphil*) occurs 10 times in the earlier Prophecies; once in Ezk.; 11 times in Job and Prov. In Pss. the former sense appears 4 times, the latter 8.

יִרְאֶה, only in Is. 64<sup>2</sup>, "When Thou didst terrible things that we looked not for"; Hab. 1<sup>7</sup>; once each in Deut. and Sam.; 4 times in Pss.

יָמִין, of *man's* power in a *good* cause, only in Is. 41<sup>13</sup>, "I . . . will hold thy right hand, saying . . . Fear not"; 45<sup>1</sup>, "Jahweh saith to His anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him"; Job 40<sup>14</sup>; 3 times in Pss. The word is used of *God* only in Jer. 22<sup>21</sup> Is. 41<sup>10</sup> 48<sup>13</sup> 62<sup>8</sup> Hab. 2<sup>13</sup> Zech. 3<sup>1</sup>; once in Prov.; 6 times in other poems; 22 in Pss.; once in Chr. (These are exclusive of all references to mere *direction* or *position*.)

Verse 6. יָרָה, only 12 times in the Prophecies; 4 in Job and Prov.; 20 in Pss. and other poems; 14 in Hists. Of force used against Israel's enemies, in Prophecies only in Jer. 50<sup>3, 14</sup>, "Their arrows [against Babylon] shall be as of a mighty man that maketh orphans"; "Shoot at her; spare no arrows"; 51<sup>11</sup>, "Make sharp the arrows, hold firm the shields"; Is. 49<sup>2</sup>, "He hath made me [the Servant] a polished shaft"; Zech. 9<sup>14</sup>, "His arrow [Jahweh's] shall go forth as lightning."

יָצָא, only in Is. 5<sup>28</sup> Prov. 25<sup>18</sup> Deut. 6<sup>7</sup> 32<sup>41</sup>; 5 times in Pss.

The second clause does not appear to be verbally paralleled outside of Pss., which tends to confirm the suspicion that it has been inserted from 18.

בֵּינֵם, in the sense of "in the midst of," only in Ezk. 27<sup>4, 25, 26, 27</sup> 28<sup>2, 8</sup>; (לִבְנֵם) Jon. 2<sup>4</sup>, — all these of the *seas*; twice in Prov.; once each in Sam. and Ex. 15; twice in Pss.<sup>16</sup>

אֵינִי, in association with מִלְּךָ, only in Jer. 21<sup>7</sup> 34<sup>21</sup> — both of Zedekiah; Zeph. 3<sup>15</sup>, "Jahweh . . . hath cast out thine enemy; the King of Israel, even Jahweh, is in the midst of thee"; 6 times in Sam. of Saul and David; once in Chr. of Uzziah. (For references in the "royal" Pss., see above.)

מִלְּךָ, applied more or less definitely to the *Coming One*, only in Jer. 23<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>16</sup> It is likely, however, that the text is corrupt, מִיָּד standing for something introducing צֶדֶק. So Wellhausen.

<sup>16</sup> Note, however, various proposed readings in Grätz, Baethgen, Duhm, especially the second.

"I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and he shall reign as king"; Ezk. 37<sup>22, 24</sup>, "I will make them one nation . . . and one king shall be king to them all"; "My servant David shall be king over them, and they all shall have one shepherd"; Zech. 9<sup>9</sup>, "Thy king cometh unto thee"; Is. 32<sup>1</sup>, "A king shall reign in righteousness"; Hos. 3<sup>5</sup>, "The children of Israel shall return, and seek Jahweh their God and David their king"; twice in Sam. God is spoken of as "King" in the Prophecies only in Is. 6<sup>5</sup> 33<sup>17, 22</sup> 41<sup>21</sup> 43<sup>15</sup> 44<sup>6</sup> Jer. 8<sup>19</sup> 10<sup>7, 11</sup> 48<sup>15</sup> 51<sup>27</sup> Zeph. 3<sup>15</sup> Zech. 14<sup>9, 16, 17</sup>; Mal. 1<sup>14</sup>. God's rule is also indicated by מֶלֶךְ in Is. 24<sup>23</sup> 52<sup>7</sup> Mic. 4<sup>7</sup> Ezk. 20<sup>32</sup>. (All references in Dan. are omitted under this word.)

Not enumerated: מֶלֶךְ, מַלְכֵּי, מַלְכִּים.

Verse 7. כִּסֵּא, occurs 33 times in the Prophecies. Of these the more notable cases are Jer. 3<sup>17</sup>, "They shall call Jerusalem the throne of Jahweh, and all the nations shall be gathered into it"; 13<sup>13</sup>, "All the inhabitants . . . even the kings that sit for David on his throne" (similarly in 17<sup>25</sup> 22<sup>2, 4, 30</sup> 29<sup>16</sup>); 14<sup>21</sup>, "Do not disgrace the throne of thy glory [Zion]"; 17<sup>12</sup>, "A glorious throne, set on high from the beginning, is the place of our sanctuary"; 33<sup>17, 21</sup>, "David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne"; "that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne" (*cf.* 36<sup>31</sup>); Ezk. 43<sup>7</sup>, "This is the place of My throne . . . for ever"; Zech. 6<sup>13</sup>, "He shall sit and rule upon his throne; there shall be a priest upon his throne"; Is. 9<sup>7</sup>, "Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom, to establish it"; 16<sup>6</sup>, "A throne shall be established in mercy, and one shall sit thereon in truth, in the tent of David, judging and seeking judgment, and swift to do righteousness"; 22<sup>23</sup>, "He [Eliakim] shall be for a throne of glory to his father's house." כִּסֵּא occurs with מֶלֶךְ or כִּסֵּא or both only in Is. 9<sup>7</sup>; Ezk. 43<sup>7</sup> (God); Lam. 5<sup>19</sup> (God); Prov. 29<sup>14</sup>, outside of "royal" psalms and Hists. [כִּסֵּא occurs with כִּסֵּא only in 2 Sam. 7<sup>18, 16</sup> 1 Kgs. 2<sup>12, 24, 46</sup> 1 Chr. 17<sup>12, 14</sup> 22<sup>11</sup> Is. 9<sup>7</sup> 16<sup>6</sup> Prov. 16<sup>12</sup> 25<sup>5</sup> 29<sup>14</sup>; מֶלֶךְ, *Hiphil*, occurs with כִּסֵּא only in 2 Sam. 3<sup>10</sup> 1 Kgs. 9<sup>5</sup> 2 Chr. 7<sup>18</sup>. (See note on Eliakim below, p. 207.)]

מֶלֶךְ, only in Is. 30<sup>8</sup>; Mic. 4<sup>6</sup>, "We will walk in the name of Jahweh our God for ever and aye"; Dan. 12<sup>8</sup> Ex. 15<sup>18</sup>; 12 times in Pss.

שֶׁבֶט, in the sense of "sceptre," only in Is. 14<sup>6</sup> Am. 1<sup>5, 8</sup> Ezk. 19<sup>11, 14</sup> Zech. 10<sup>11</sup>, — all in connections of no significance here; also in Gen. 49<sup>13</sup> Num. 24<sup>17</sup>.

מִשְׁפָּר, in the moral sense, only in Is. 11<sup>4</sup>, "With righteousness shall he [the Branch] judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth"; Mal. 2<sup>6</sup>, "He [Levi] walked with Me in peace and uprightness"; Ps. 67<sup>6</sup> (God). But מִשְׁפָּר also occurs in Is. 26<sup>7</sup> 33<sup>16</sup> 45<sup>10</sup> (God); 5 times in Prov. (8<sup>6</sup>, Wisdom); 1 Chr. 29<sup>17</sup> (God); 7 times in Pss.

מַלְכֻת (apparently a term of rather late usage) only in Jer. 10<sup>7</sup> 49<sup>34</sup> 52<sup>31</sup> Eccl. 4<sup>14</sup>; 16 times in Dan.; 62 in later Hists.; once each in Num. (poem), Sam., and Kgs.; 5 times in Pss. 103 and 145.

Not enumerated: מַלְכֵּי, מַלְכִּים.

Verse 8. אֶהְיֶה, of *men's* attitude toward what is *good*, only in Zech. 8<sup>19</sup>, "Love truth and peace"; Am. 5<sup>16</sup>, "Hate the evil and love the good"; 3 times in Prov.; once in Chr.; 16 times in Pss. (mostly in 119).

שָׂנֵא, of *men's* attitude toward what is *evil*, only in Ezk. 35<sup>6</sup>, "Since thou hast not hated blood"; Am. 5<sup>15</sup> (just quoted); 3 times in Prov.; once in Ex.; 6 times

in Pss. (mostly in 119). **אָנַח** and **אָנַח** occur together in these senses only in Am. 5<sup>13</sup> Ps. 119<sup>113, 127-128, 143</sup>.

**אָנַח** occurs in contrast with **אָנַח** (or fem.) only in Ezk. 3<sup>19-20</sup> 33<sup>12</sup> Is. 58<sup>2-8</sup> Hos. 10<sup>12-13</sup>; 5 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl. It is also found in Jer. 14<sup>20</sup> Ezk. 7<sup>11</sup> 31<sup>11</sup> Mic. 6<sup>10, 11</sup>; 7 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; once each in Deut. and Sam.; 5 times in Pss.

**אָנַח**, together with **אָנַח**, of kings, etc., only in Is. 45<sup>1</sup>, "Thus saith Jahweh to His anointed, to Cyrus"; 61<sup>1</sup>, "Jahweh hath anointed me [the Servant] to preach good tidings to the meek"; Dan. 9<sup>24, 25, 26</sup>; outside of the early Hists. (with a few parallels in Chr.), seven poems, and the Psalter.

**אָנַח** is very common in Hex. and Hists. For an ointment or unction it elsewhere occurs only in Ezk. 16<sup>9</sup>, "I anointed [אָנַח] thee [Jerusalem] with oil" (16<sup>18, 19</sup> 23<sup>41</sup> 45<sup>14, 24, 25</sup> 46<sup>5, 7, 11, 14, 15</sup>); Is. 57<sup>9</sup>; 61<sup>3</sup>, "To give unto them . . . the oil of joy for mourning"; also in Is. (1<sup>6</sup>) 10<sup>27</sup> (Hos. 2<sup>7</sup> Am. 6<sup>6</sup>) Mic. 6<sup>16</sup>; 8 times in Prov., Eccl., and Cant.; 6 in Pss. Most of these refer either to the sacrificial ritual or to toilet uses.

**אָנַח**, except for Esth. 8<sup>16, 17</sup>, is confined to the Prophecies and Pss. It occurs in Jer. 7<sup>34</sup>, "I will cause to cease . . . the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness" (so in 16<sup>9</sup> 25<sup>11</sup> 33<sup>11</sup>); 15<sup>16</sup>, "Thy words were to me a joy and the rejoicing [אָנַח] of my heart"; and so in Is. 22<sup>18</sup> 51<sup>9, 11</sup> Zech. 8<sup>19</sup> below] of my heart"; 31<sup>13</sup>, "I will turn their mourning into joy"; 33<sup>9</sup>, "[This city?] shall be to Me for a name of joy . . . before all the nations of the earth"; Is. 51<sup>3, 11</sup>, "Joy and gladness shall be found therein [Zion]"; "They shall obtain joy and gladness"; 61<sup>3</sup>, "The oil of joy for mourning"; Zech. 8<sup>19</sup>, "[The feasts] shall be joy and gladness"; Is. 12<sup>3</sup>, "With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation"; 22<sup>18</sup>, "Behold, joy and gladness"; 35<sup>11</sup>, "The ransomed of Jahweh . . . everlasting joy shall be upon their heads"; Joel 1<sup>12</sup>; 5 times in Pss. **אָנַח** is added only in Is. 61<sup>3</sup>.

**אָנַח**, only in Is. 1<sup>23</sup> 44<sup>11</sup>; Ezk. 37<sup>16</sup>, "Take one stick and write upon it, For Judah and . . . his companions; then take another . . . for Joseph . . . and his companions" (so in v.<sup>19</sup>); 4 times in Prov., Eccl., and Cant.; once in Jdg.; Ps. 119<sup>68, 17</sup>.

Not enumerated: **אָנַח** (see v.<sup>8</sup>); **אָנַח** (see v.<sup>4</sup>); **אָנַח**.

Verse 17. **אָנַח** combined with **אָנַח** is naturally of rather frequent occurrence; in the Prophecies it is found 9 times in Jer., 4 in Ezk., twice in Mal., and once in Is. 14,—the only important instance for our purpose being Ezk. 37<sup>25</sup>, "They shall dwell in the land . . . wherein your fathers dwelt . . . they, and their children, and their children's children, for ever; and David My servant shall be their prince [אָנַח] for ever." It is noticeable that in Pss. the two words are in conjunction only here and in 78<sup>3-8</sup> 103<sup>15</sup>.

**אָנַח**, of personal station or office, only in Jer. 3<sup>19</sup>, "How shall I put thee [Jerusalem] among the children, and give thee a pleasant land, the goodliest heritage of the nations"; 1 Kgs. 11<sup>34</sup> Gen. 4<sup>26</sup> 41<sup>39</sup>.

**אָנַח** is widely used of officers, military and civil, and of nobles, usually distinct from the king and beneath him. So very often in Jer., Proto-Is., Hos., and rarely in Ezk., Am., Mic., and Zeph. In the general sense, as here, only in Is. 3<sup>4</sup>, "I

<sup>17</sup> But see also the ingenious speculations of Grätz.

will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them"; 9<sup>b</sup>, "Unto us a . . . a son is given . . . and his name shall be called . . . Prince of Peace"; 21<sup>a</sup>, "Rise up, ye princes, anoint the shield" (?); 32<sup>1</sup>, "Princes shall rule in judgment"; 10 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; 10 times in Pss. [It should be noted that Ezk. uses often the word נָשִׂיא, notable instances for us being 34<sup>21</sup>, "I Jahweh will be their God, and My servant David prince among them"; 37<sup>25</sup> (quoted above); 39<sup>8</sup>, "Ye shall eat the flesh of the mighty, and drink the blood of the princes of the earth"; 44<sup>3</sup>, "As for the prince, he shall sit therein as prince to eat bread before Jahweh"; *passim* in chs. 45. 46. 48, all (like 44<sup>3</sup>) of the High Priest.]

כְּלִי-חַיָּה, in connection with statements of prosperity or dominion or with God's name, only in Is. 6<sup>1</sup>, "The whole earth is full of His glory"; 10<sup>14</sup>; 12<sup>6</sup>, "Sing unto Jahweh . . . let this be known in the whole earth"; 14<sup>7. 21</sup> (*cf.* 28<sup>22</sup>); 25<sup>8</sup>, "The reproach of His people shall He take away from off the whole earth"; 54<sup>5</sup>, "The God of the whole earth shall He be called"; Ezk. 35<sup>14</sup>; Mic. 4<sup>13</sup>, "Thou shalt devote their substance to the Lord of the whole earth"; Hab. 2<sup>20</sup>, "Let all the earth keep silence before Him"; Zech. 1<sup>11</sup>; 4<sup>10. 14</sup>, "The eyes of Jahweh . . . run to and fro through the whole earth"; "These are the two sons of oil [צֶמֶךְ] that stand by the Lord of the whole earth"; 5<sup>3. 9</sup>; 6<sup>6</sup>, "These are the four winds of heaven that go forth from standing before the Lord of the whole earth"; 14<sup>9. 19</sup>, "Jahweh shall be King over the whole earth"; "All the land shall be turned as the Arabah"; once in Job; 22 times in Pss.; fairly common in Hex. and Hists.

Not enumerated: יָהּ, יְהוָה.

Verse 1<sup>a</sup>. יָבֵר, *Hiphil*, with שֵׁם, only in Is. 12<sup>4</sup>, "Make mention that His name is exalted"; 26<sup>13</sup>, "By Thee only will we make mention of Thy name"; 48<sup>1</sup>, "Who swear by Jahweh's name and make mention of the God of Israel"; 49<sup>1</sup>, "From the bowels of my mother hath He made mention of my name [the Servant's]"; 63<sup>7</sup>, "I will make mention of the lovingkindness of Jahweh"; Am. 6<sup>10</sup>, "Then shall he say, Hold thy peace, for we may not make mention of Jahweh's name"; 3 times in Hex.; 2 Sam. 18<sup>18</sup> Ps. 20<sup>6</sup> 83<sup>6</sup> (*Niph.*). All of these refer to God's name, with the notable exceptions of Is. 49<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. 18<sup>18</sup> Ps. 83<sup>6</sup>. [If the other reading be adopted, note that יָבֵר occurs (outside of Pss.) only in Is. 12<sup>5</sup>, "Sing to Jahweh" (see v.<sup>5</sup> above); Jdg. 5<sup>3</sup> 2 Sam. 22<sup>50</sup> 1 Chr. 16<sup>9</sup>.]

יָדוּר יָדוּר, only in Is. 13<sup>23</sup> 34<sup>17</sup>; 58<sup>13</sup>, "Thou [Israel] shalt raise up the foundations of many generations"; 60<sup>16</sup>, "I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations"; 61<sup>4</sup> Jer. 50<sup>20</sup>; Lam. 5<sup>19</sup>, "Thy throne [Jahweh's] is from generation to generation"; Joel 2<sup>2</sup>; 4<sup>23</sup>, "Judah shall abide for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation"; Prov. 27<sup>24</sup> Deut. 32<sup>7</sup> Esth. 9<sup>28</sup>; 15 times in Pss. With כִּלְ only here and in Esth. 9<sup>28</sup> Ps. 145<sup>13</sup>.

יָהּ, *Hiphil*, only in Is. 12<sup>1. 4</sup> 25<sup>1</sup> Jer. 33<sup>11</sup>; once each in Job and Prov.; twice in Gen. (one in poem); twice in Kgs.; 19 times in later Hists. All these refer to praising God, as do the 67 occurrences in Pss.

שָׁלֵם וְשָׁלֵם (see v.<sup>7</sup>).

Not enumerated: שָׁלֵם (see v.<sup>4</sup>); עָמִים.

Before going on to consider the central sections of the psalm, one or two remarks may be made upon the data thus far presented.

(1) The difference of v.<sup>18</sup> from the rest of the psalm in address and texture seems to be established by several converging lines of evidence, namely, the close analogy of three other psalms of the same class, not to speak of others; the lack of verbal connection with the Prophecies or other books except as they contain plainly liturgical material, this lack being the more noticeable because of the abundant verbal connections of the rest of the psalm; and the use of words and phrases that can be shown to be somewhat characteristic of the Psalter and called forth by its design as a collection. The force of this reasoning is not dependent upon the proposed text-emendation, though it is increased by accepting it; neither is it determined by any theory as to the meaning or origin of the psalm. We therefore conclude that the verse is addressed to God and not to the king, and that it provides a liturgical antiphon for the psalm without having any close connection with its structure.

(2) On the whole v.<sup>2</sup> seems to be more slenderly bound to the Prophecies by word-connections than the succeeding verses. But on the other hand it has somewhat numerous connections with the Wisdom writings. The same is true of vv.<sup>3</sup> and <sup>6</sup>, both of which are also somewhat affiliated with Cant. This point would bear separate treatment if space permitted.

(3) The number and closeness of the verbal connections between vv.<sup>5-8, 17</sup> with the Prophecies cannot be denied. But the interpretation to be put upon the data thus far presented is not certain. The vocabulary of these verses contains only seven words that are missing from Jer., only seven missing from Is. 1-35, and only ten missing from Is. 40-66. But the most striking correspondences of thought and phrase are with Deutero-Is., besides several features suggesting Ezk. and some Zech. What is to be made of these is not clear without further evidence. The psalm may be derived from these exilic writings, or it may have preceded them, — at least in its main substance. However this may be, it is clear that the examination of the remaining sections of the psalm should be made with the possible significance of these facts fully in mind. It is probable that the same sort of sifting there will clear up some of the uncertainty here.

The next section is that describing the splendor of "the king" — vv.<sup>9-10</sup>.

Verse 9. מֶלֶךְ is not mentioned in the Prophecies or Hists. (except Esth. 2<sup>12</sup>). In Ex. 30<sup>23</sup> it appears as a constituent of "the holy anointing oil" for the priesthood and the Sanctuary. Elsewhere it occurs only in Prov. 7<sup>17</sup> (with aloes and cinnamon) and in Cant. 1<sup>12</sup> 3<sup>6</sup> 4<sup>6, 14</sup> 5<sup>1, 5 (6a), 13</sup> as an article of luxury.

אֶרֶב is still rarer, occurring only in Prov. 7<sup>17</sup> Cant. 4<sup>14</sup>, both times with מֶר, and (doubtfully) in Num. 24<sup>6</sup>.

קִינָמון is א.א., but קִנְדָה in Ex. 30<sup>24</sup> may be another name for the same spice or something like it. (Perhaps this is an explanatory gloss.)<sup>18</sup>

The description of the anointing oil in Ex. is probably to be used in interpreting "the oil of gladness" in the preceding verse, though, of course, the oil in Ex. is intended only for the Sanctuary, its furniture, and its ministrants. The other solid constituents, besides myrrh and cassia, are cinnamon (קִנְדָה) and calamus (קִנְדָה), the former otherwise mentioned only in Prov. 7<sup>17</sup> Cant. 4<sup>14</sup>, and the latter only in Cant. 4<sup>14</sup> Jer. 6<sup>21</sup> Ezk. 27<sup>19</sup> Is. 43<sup>21</sup>. The general term for all these spices is מִשְׁחָה, which occurs with varying pointing in Ex. 25<sup>6</sup> 30<sup>23</sup> 35<sup>8, 26</sup> 1 Kgs. 10<sup>2, 19, 26</sup> 2 Kgs. 20<sup>13</sup> 1 Chr. 9<sup>29, 30</sup> 2 Chr. 9<sup>1, 9, 24</sup> 16<sup>14</sup> 32<sup>27</sup> Esth. 2<sup>12</sup> Cant. 4<sup>19, 14, 16</sup> 5<sup>1, 13</sup> 6<sup>2</sup> 8<sup>14</sup> Is. 3<sup>24</sup> 39<sup>2</sup> Ezk. 27<sup>22</sup>. Of these, the references in Ex. and 1 Chr. are to the ritual oil and incense, and all the rest to articles of luxury and so of commerce. The only kings with whom the term is used are Solomon, Asa (burial), and Hezekiah.

בִּגְדֵי occurs 4 times in Jer.; 11 in Deutero-Is.; 14 in Ezk.; 1 in Hag.; 4 in Zech.; once each in Am. and Joel; 7 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; 4 times in Ps.; often in Pent. and Hists. Notable instances are Ezk. 16<sup>16, 18</sup>, "Thou [Jerusalem] didst take of thy garments and madest for thee high places"; "Thou tookest thy brodered garments"; 16<sup>39</sup>, "They shall strip thee [Jerusalem] of thy clothes" (so in 23<sup>26</sup>); Is. 52<sup>1</sup>, "Put on thy garments of beauty [תִּפְאֶרֶת], O Jerusalem, the holy city"; 59<sup>17</sup>, "He put on garments of vengeance for clothing"; 61<sup>10</sup>, "He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation . . . as a bridegroom"; 63<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>, "Who is this . . . with crimsoned garments from Bozrah?" "Wherefore thy garments like him that treadeth in the wine-vat?" "Their life-blood is sprinkled on my garments"; Zech. 3<sup>3, 4, 5</sup>, "Joshua was clothed with filthy garments"; "Take the filthy garments from off him . . . I will clothe thee with rich apparel"; "So they set a fair mitre on his head and clothed him with garments"; 14<sup>14</sup>, "The wealth of all nations round about shall be gathered together, gold and silver and apparel, in great abundance." Of these only Is. 59<sup>17</sup> 61<sup>10</sup> 63<sup>1-3</sup> Zech. 3<sup>3-5</sup> offer parallels of thought to our Psalm. In no case except Ezk. 27<sup>20-22</sup> are "spices" mentioned in the context.

בֵּית, in the probable sense of "palace," only in Is. 13<sup>22</sup> Joel 4<sup>6</sup> Am. 8<sup>3</sup> Nah. 2<sup>7</sup> Dan. 1<sup>4</sup> Prov. 30<sup>28</sup> Ps. 144<sup>12</sup> 1 Kgs. 21<sup>1</sup> 2 Kgs. 20<sup>18</sup> (= Is. 39<sup>7</sup>) 2 Chr. 36<sup>7</sup> — never of the king's house at Jerusalem. In 1 Kgs. 21<sup>1</sup> it is used of Ahab's royal residence at Samaria, which may be identical with the "house of ivory" in 22<sup>39</sup>.

עֵצ, in the sense of "ivory," only in Am. 3<sup>16</sup> (houses) 6<sup>4</sup> (beds) Ezk. 27<sup>6, 16</sup> (wealth of Tyre) Cant. 5<sup>14</sup> 7<sup>6</sup> 1 Kgs. 10<sup>18</sup> (Solomon's throne) 22<sup>39</sup> (see above) 2 Chr. 9<sup>17</sup>.

מִנִּים, with the probable sense of "stringed instruments" (מִנְיָה), occurs only here and in Ps. 150<sup>4, 19</sup>.

פֶּלֶא, *Piel*, only in Jer. 20<sup>15</sup>; 31<sup>13</sup>, "I will comfort them and make them rejoice

<sup>18</sup> So Duhm.

<sup>19</sup> The Targum makes this refer to *Armenia* (see Jer. 51<sup>27</sup>), but this leaves the verb without a subject. See also Bickell's conjecture of a reduplication of מִנִּים, with Cheyne's note thereon.

from their sorrow"; Is. 56<sup>7</sup>, "I will make them joyful in My house of prayer"; Hos. 7<sup>8</sup>, "They make the king glad with their wickedness"; 9 times in Prov., Eccl., and Lam.; 8 in Pss.; once in Deut.; 4 times in Hists. (mostly late). In the Prophecies, when the *Qal* is used, the subject is nearly always either Jerusalem or Israel; but note Is. 39<sup>2</sup>, "Hezekiah was glad of the messengers from Babylon" (a variation from the account in Kgs.). In the Hists. the kings who are said to "rejoice" are only Saul, Hiram, and Hezekiah (2 Chr. 29<sup>30</sup>).

Verse <sup>10</sup>. כְּנִית כֶּלֶךְ, only in Jer. 41<sup>10</sup> 43<sup>6</sup>, both of Zedekiah; 2 Sam. 13<sup>18</sup>, of David.

קֶרֶת, fem. plur., is peculiar. This exact form occurs only in Zech. 14<sup>6</sup> in an obscure passage and in 1 Kgs. 5<sup>17</sup> 7<sup>8</sup>. 10. 11 of costly *building* stones. *Precious* stones are as a rule indicated by אֶבֶן יָקָרָה (Ezk. 27<sup>22</sup> 28<sup>13</sup> Dan. 11<sup>38</sup>; several instances in Hists.), but the definitive is יָקָר in Prov. 17<sup>8</sup>, יָקָר in Is. 54<sup>12</sup> (Jerusalem), and יָקָר in Zech. 9<sup>11</sup>, "His people . . . shall be as stones of a crown, glittering over his land." Analogy of usage, together with the verse-parallelism, would suggest that *jewels* were meant here as an article of dress.<sup>21</sup>

נִפְחָל, *Niphal*, only in Is. 3<sup>13</sup> 21<sup>8</sup> Am. 7<sup>7</sup> 9<sup>1</sup> Zech. 11<sup>16</sup> Prov. 8<sup>2</sup> (Wisdom) Ex. 15<sup>8</sup> Lam. 2<sup>4</sup>; often in Pent. and older Hists. (in later, only in 2 Chr. 8<sup>10</sup>); 4 times in Psa. None of these seems even distantly significant here, except perhaps Prov. 8<sup>2</sup>.

שָׁנָל is a rare, late, and probably foreign word, found only in Neh. 2<sup>8</sup> Dan. 5<sup>2</sup>. 3. 28. Its occurrence here is so surprising that queries about the text naturally arise, but with no obvious solution. (Possibly שָׁנָל might be conjectured, though this revolutionizes the passage.)

יָמִין, to indicate *position* or *direction*, occurs in the Prophecies only twice in Is., 4 times in Ezk., and 4 in Zech.; also 4 in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; 8 in Psa.; often in Hex. and Hists.

כָּהָם is a rare and poetical word, found only Is. 13<sup>12</sup>, "I will make a man rarer . . . than the pure gold of Ophir"; Dan. 10<sup>6</sup> Job 28<sup>16</sup>. 19 31<sup>24</sup> Prov. 25<sup>12</sup> Cant. 5<sup>11</sup> Lam. 4<sup>1</sup>.

אִפְיָר is also rare, but differently distributed, occurring in Is. 13<sup>12</sup> Job 22<sup>24</sup> 28<sup>16</sup>; once in Gen.; 8 times in Hists., all in connection with Solomon, except 1 Kgs. 22<sup>49</sup>, regarding Jehoshaphat's commerce.

The noticeable feature in these two verses is the meagreness of verbal contacts with the Prophecies, at least in a way to indicate community of thought. Articles of luxury and splendor are indeed mentioned, but only incidentally to subjects wholly different from that here. This is in contrast with the verses previously examined. The word-connections with the Wisdom writings, however, are more noticeable.

If a historic personage is here celebrated, the thought rests somewhat naturally on Hezekiah. We recall the references to his wealth and glory in 2 Kgs. 20<sup>13-15</sup>, with the implications of 18<sup>14-16</sup>. To his Babylonian visitors he showed "all the house of his treasures [בְּיָתִי]

<sup>20</sup> Note, also, readings proposed by Grätz, Döderlein, and Baethgen.

[נִכְתָּה], the silver and the gold [הַזָּהָב], and the spices [הַבְּשָׁמִים], and the fine oil [שֶׁמֶן הַטוֹב], . . . nothing did Hezekiah omit showing in his house or all his realm [מִמְּשַׁלְתּוֹ].” In the rescript of this that is incorporated into Is. we find also the striking poem in ch. 38, toward the end of which are two slight verbal reminders of our psalm: “The father to the children shall make known Thy truth,” and “We will sing My songs to the stringed instruments [נְגִינוֹתֵי נָנִין] all the days of our life in the house of Jahweh.” Furthermore, in 2 Kgs. 18<sup>15-18</sup> 20<sup>5, 20</sup> we read of Hezekiah’s opposition to idolatry, his public works, and his political vigor in opposing the Philistines and in rebelling from Assyrian supremacy — “whithersoever he went forth he prospered [יִשְׁכֵּל].” These present several thought-parallels to vv.<sup>4-10, 17</sup> in our psalm.

The Chronicler (2 Chr. 29-32) repeats much of this, but with great amplifications, especially concerning the restoration of the House of Jahweh and its worship, including both sacrifices and the musical ritual, of the Passover as a national feast, and of the ritual taxes and gifts for the support of the priests and Levites, with the resulting superabundance of riches in the Temple treasury, together with many variations in the narrative of the struggle with Sennacherib. In connection with the story of Hezekiah’s rule we are told in 32<sup>23</sup> that “many brought gifts [מִנְחָה] unto Jahweh to Jerusalem, and precious things [מְנִדְנֹת] to Hezekiah . . . so that he was exalted in the sight of all nations from thenceforth”; and again in vv.<sup>27-29</sup> we find many details about his prosperity: “Hezekiah had exceeding much riches and honor [עֲשָׂר וְכָבוֹד], and he provided him treasures for silver and for gold and for precious stones [יָקָרָה] and for spices [לְבָשָׁמִים] and for shields [לְמִגְנִים] and for all manner of goodly vessels, etc.” Whatever explanation be given of the derivation of these accounts, their points of contact with our psalm and with Ps. 72 are certainly notable.

In this connection a curious speculation develops from the coincidence of v. 7 in our psalm with Is. 22<sup>21</sup>. The person there referred to, as the context shows, is Eliakim, the chamberlain of Hezekiah (2 Kgs. 18<sup>18, 21, 37</sup> 19<sup>2</sup>). One may wonder whether in our psalm the original reading was כַּסְאָךָ אֱלִיָּקִים instead of אֱלִיָּקִים, the extraordinary qualities and authority here imputed to Eliakim being essentially similar to those implied in Is. 22. Or the matter may be turned the other way. Suppose that the proper reading in the psalm were either אֱלִיָּקִים (as already suggested) or אֱלִיָּקִים (following 1 Kgs. 9<sup>6</sup>), and were known in that form to the author of Is. 22. He might then have written, “It shall come to pass in that day that I will call My Servant ‘God will establish’ (Eliakim),” and a later scribe

might have added the gloss, "the son of Hilkiah," thus making extremely difficult a passage otherwise fairly plain.<sup>21</sup>

One more curious circumstance is to be noted. In 2 Kgs. 21<sup>1</sup> (but not in Chr.) we learn that Hezekiah's wife, the mother of Manasseh, was Hephzibah [חֶפְצִיבָּה, My delight is in her]. This name otherwise occurs only in Is. 62<sup>4</sup>, where it is symbolically applied to Jerusalem in connection with one of the numerous references to God's relation to His people under the figure of marriage. Whether this has any bearing upon the question of זֶה or connection with v.<sup>12</sup> of our psalm is at least worth a query.

This brings us around again to the section addressed to the "daughter" and concerning "the king's daughter." In treating these we shall assume provisionally that זֶה refers to "the daughter of Zion," simply because nothing else seems to be in line with the general trend of the comparative evidence thus far collected.

Verse 11. זָמַע, Imv., addressed to *men*, is common in the Prophecies, especially in Jer., Deutero-Is., and Ezk., as well as in Job and Prov. The exact form here used occurs only in Jer. 6<sup>10</sup> 22<sup>29</sup> — both to the land; Is. 47<sup>8</sup>, to "the daughter of Babylon"; 51<sup>21</sup>, to Jerusalem, "thou afflicted one"; Ezk. 16<sup>26</sup>, to Jerusalem, "thou harlot"; and the city seems also to be addressed in Mic. 6<sup>9</sup>, while the fem. plur. occurs in Is. 32<sup>9</sup> Jer. 9<sup>19</sup>, addressed to "careless women," etc. In other cases the address is usually to the people or nation without special characterization.

רָאָה, Imv., to *men*, is not specially common except in Jer. The exact form here used occurs only (outside of four cases in early Hists.) in Jer. 2<sup>19</sup>.<sup>22</sup> 3<sup>2</sup> 13<sup>20</sup> (K'th.) Is. 49<sup>18</sup> 60<sup>8</sup>, the address in the last two cases being explicitly to Zion, and to the nation in the others.

נָשָׂא, of *men*, occurs only 8 times in Jer., once in Is. (55<sup>2</sup>), 5 times in Prov., 3 in Pss. In Jer. it forms part of a nearly invariable formula. The Imv. occurs only in Is. 55<sup>2</sup> Prov. 4<sup>21</sup> 5<sup>1</sup> 22<sup>17</sup> Ps. 78<sup>1</sup>.

זָמַע and רָאָה occur together only in Is. 6<sup>9</sup> Lam. 1<sup>18</sup> Dan. 9<sup>18</sup> (to God); 2 Kgs. 19<sup>16</sup> = Is. 37<sup>17</sup> (to God). Both of them, in the Imv. in any form addressed to men, are noticeably rare in Chr.

רָאָה and נָשָׂא occur together only in Is. 55<sup>2</sup> Prov. 22<sup>17</sup>.

The second line, as it stands, is hostile to the theory that זֶה means Zion. But שָׁכַח is unique in the Old Testament. "Forgetting" God and His ways is often mentioned, especially in Jer., Deut., and Pss.; and God's "forgetting" His people is sometimes asserted. If the general theory of the sense of the passage that the context suggests be accepted, we should read here either שָׁכַחְתָּ, as in Is. 17<sup>10</sup> Ezk. 22<sup>12</sup> 23<sup>35</sup> Jer. 13<sup>25</sup> (different pointing),<sup>22</sup> or, better, interrogatively, הֲשָׁכַחְתָּ, following the general analogy of Is. 49<sup>16</sup> Jer. 2<sup>32</sup> 44<sup>9</sup> Ps. 77<sup>10</sup> (cf. Jer. 46<sup>10</sup> 51<sup>50</sup> etc.). Passages in which Israel is thus spoken of as "forgetting" its heritage are Is. 17<sup>10</sup> 51<sup>13</sup> Jer. 2<sup>32</sup> 3<sup>21</sup> 13<sup>25</sup> 18<sup>16</sup> 23<sup>27</sup> 50<sup>6</sup> Ezk. 22<sup>12</sup> 23<sup>35</sup> Hos. 2<sup>18</sup> 4<sup>6</sup> 8<sup>14</sup> 13<sup>6</sup>, besides many

<sup>21</sup> In either case we may question whether Is. 22<sup>28</sup> has not been transposed from between vv.<sup>19</sup> and <sup>20</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> See note on the connection of the clauses in Perowne.

instances in Deut. and Ps. *Per contra*, if this emendation be rejected, it is noticeable that in Is. 54<sup>4</sup> we find Israel contemplated under the figure of a barren widow who is thus addressed: "Forget the shame of thy youth . . . for thy Maker is thy husband . . . for Jahweh hath called thee as a wife forsaken . . . even a wife of youth, cast off," so that the reading here as we have it might stand without altering the general sense. This is strengthened by the fact that our psalm shows many verbal connections with Is. 54.

בֵּית אָבִיךָ is a common phrase in Hex. and Hists., but elsewhere occurs only in Is. 3<sup>6</sup> 7<sup>17</sup> 22<sup>23</sup>, 24 Jer. 12<sup>6</sup>. All refer to a family rather than to a building.

It remains to add that יְשֻׁבָּה may be a corruption of a totally different verb, like יִשְׁמְחֵהוּ (*cf.* Zech. 10<sup>7</sup>) or יִשְׁמְחֵהוּ, with "people" and "house" as subjects, or יִשְׁמְחֵהוּ, with the construction as now.

Verse 12. יָדָא, though slightly common in Hex., early Hists., and Prov., is rare in Chr. and the Prophecies, occurring in the latter only in Is. 26<sup>9</sup> Jer. 17<sup>16</sup> Am. 5<sup>18</sup> Mic. 7<sup>1</sup>—none of which have any pertinency here. But the word is used of Solomon in 1 Kgs. 11<sup>37</sup>, just after a reference to Jerusalem, "the chosen city."

יָדָא is used of cities or states only in Ezk. 16<sup>14</sup>, 16, 25, "Thy renown [Jerusalem] went forth among the nations for thy beauty"; "Thou didst trust in thy beauty"; "Thou hast made thy beauty an abomination"; 27<sup>3</sup>, 4, 11 (Tyre); 28<sup>7</sup>, 12, 17 (Tyre); 31<sup>8</sup> (Assyria); Lam. 2<sup>16</sup>, "Is this the city that men called, The perfection of beauty?" Ps. 50<sup>2</sup> (*cf.* 48<sup>2</sup>); of a divine personage only in Is. 33<sup>17</sup>, "Thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty"; Zech. 9<sup>17</sup>, "How great is His (?) beauty!" of Vashti in Esth. 1<sup>11</sup>; and generally in Is. 3<sup>24</sup> Prov. 6<sup>23</sup> 31<sup>30</sup>.

יָדָא is common for human superiors and somewhat so for God or His messengers. Among the latter references Jerusalem appears in the context in Is. 1<sup>24</sup>; 3<sup>1</sup>, "Behold, the Lord, Jahweh of Hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem . . ."; 10<sup>13</sup>, 33; 26<sup>13</sup>, "Jahweh our God, other lords beside Thee have had dominion over us"; 51<sup>22</sup>; Mal. 3<sup>1</sup>, "The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to His temple," besides the phrase, "Lord of the whole earth (or, land)" in Mic. 4<sup>13</sup> Zech. 4<sup>14</sup> 6<sup>5</sup>.

יָדָא, which is common in Hex. and Hists., occurs of reverence to the Servant in Is. 45<sup>14</sup>, "They [various nations of the South] shall fall down unto thee"; 49<sup>7</sup>, 23, "Kings shall see and arise; princes, and they shall worship"; "Kings and queens . . . shall bow down to thee"; 60<sup>14</sup>, "All they that despised thee [Jerusalem] shall bow themselves down."

Not enumerated: בָּרֶךְ (see v. 6), כִּי, יְהוָה, לֹא.

Verse 13. גִּזְרֵי is frequently mentioned as a typical heathen city, as in Is. 23, Jer. 25, 27, 47, Ezk. 26, 27, 28, 29, Hos. 9<sup>13</sup> Joel 4<sup>4</sup> Am. 1<sup>9</sup>, 1<sup>11</sup> Zech. 9<sup>2</sup>, 8, — but never with בֵּית (*cf.*, however, "daughter of Sidon" in Is. 23<sup>12</sup>, and "of Babylon" often). While בֵּיתִי is not used in any of these, Tyre's subservience is indicated in Is. 23<sup>8</sup> Joel 4<sup>8</sup> (?), and implied elsewhere.

בְּנֵי is common in the sense of "gift" in Gen. and the Hists., but not in the Prophecies (except Hos. 10<sup>5</sup>); but it is applied to "offerings" (apparently religious) from foreign sources in Is. 1<sup>18</sup> (Sodom and Gomorrah, figuratively) 19<sup>21</sup> (Egypt) Jer. 41<sup>5</sup> (Samaria) Zeph. 3<sup>10</sup> (the African dispersion) Mal. 1<sup>11</sup> (Gentiles generally).

בְּנֵי, to men, occurs only in Job 11<sup>19</sup> Prov. 19<sup>6</sup>—both notably parallel to this verse; and to God in Jer. 26<sup>19</sup> (Hezekiah) Zech. 7<sup>2</sup>; 8<sup>21</sup>, 22, "The inhabitants

of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to intreat the favor of Jahweh . . . yea, many peoples and strong nations shall come to seek Jahweh of Hosts in Jerusalem and to intreat His favor"; Mal. 1<sup>9</sup> Dan. 9<sup>13</sup>; once in Ps. 119; 5 times in Ex.

שָׁמַר occurs once in Job, 10 times in Prov., and 3 in Eccl.; elsewhere only in Jer. 9<sup>22</sup> Mic. 6<sup>12</sup> Is. 53<sup>9</sup> Ps. 49<sup>3</sup> Ex. 30<sup>13</sup> Ruth 3<sup>10</sup> 2 Sam. 12<sup>1</sup>. 2<sup>4</sup>. None of these offer parallels.

Not enumerated: בַּת (see v.<sup>11</sup>), עָם.

Regarding this section we may conclude that the comparison with the Prophecies abundantly justifies the interpretation advocated for בַּת (with the exception of the difficulty involved in שָׁמַר as it stands), that "the king" is represented as worthy of divine homage, and that v.<sup>13</sup> may be addressed either to the "daughter" (as now pointed) or to "the king," as suggested by the parallel in Ps. 72.

The next section (vv.<sup>14-16</sup>) treats of "the king's daughter." If this be considered to be a real person, she would naturally seem to be the daughter of that king whose prowess and splendor are celebrated in the earlier verses. The features of richness here harmonize well with vv.<sup>9-10</sup>. Commonly, however, on the supposition that this psalm is an actual marriage ode, this expression is taken to affirm that the bride is a foreign princess, the "king" here being distinct from the previous one. But it is also conceivable that here again we have an idealization of the city or nation — a continuation of the thought in vv.<sup>11-13</sup>. This would harmonize with the probable interpretation of "the king" as the Mighty One of the Messianic hope.<sup>23</sup>

Verse 14. מְנוּחָה occurs only in Ezk. 23<sup>41</sup> ("a stately bed") and Jdg. 18<sup>21</sup>. It is curious that the only place where מְנוּחָה occurs in the absolute is Is. 4<sup>6</sup>, "Over all the glory a canopy," at the end of the passage where we are told that "the Branch of Jahweh shall be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the land majestic and comely." In the construct the phrase also occurs in Is. 87 21<sup>16</sup> 22<sup>24</sup> (Eliakim's father's house).

יָהּ מֶלֶךְ, sing., only in 2 Kgs. 9<sup>31</sup>; 11<sup>2</sup> = 2 Chr. 22<sup>11</sup>; Dan. 11<sup>6</sup> — none at all pertinent here.

פָּנִים is used of the *Sanctuary* 24 times in Ezk., once in Lev., 7 times in Kgs., 4 in Chr.; of a king's *palace* once in Kgs. (Jehoram), once in Chr. (Hezekiah), twice in Esth. The modern reading, פָּנִיִּים, "corals,"<sup>24</sup> is paralleled only in Job 28<sup>16</sup> Prov. 3<sup>15</sup> 8<sup>11</sup> 20<sup>16</sup> 31<sup>10</sup> Lam. 4<sup>7</sup> — the first four of which concern the value of wisdom. The suggestion of jewelry reminds us of Is. 54<sup>11-12</sup>, "Behold, I will set thy stones [Jerusalem] in fair colors [צִבְיָה], and lay thy foundations with

<sup>23</sup> Note that Grätz rejects the identification of בַּת-מֶלֶךְ with שָׁמַר, though with a totally different view of the passage.

<sup>24</sup> Krochmal, Grätz, Cheyne, Wellhausen, Duhm.

sapphires [בספירִים], and I will make thy pinnacles of rubies [בדבֶרֶדִּים] and thy gates of carbuncles [לְאַבְנֵי אֶקֶדָה] and all thy border of pleasant stones [לְאַבְנֵי חֶפֶז].<sup>25</sup>

מִשְׁבָּצֹת, only in Ex. 39 of certain golden fittings of the Tabernacle.

שָׁלוֹם is a very common term, widely diffused throughout the Old Testament. The prosperity and glory of Jerusalem are often indicated in the Prophecies by mentioning precious metals and costly stuffs.

שָׁלוֹם, only in Is. 14<sup>19</sup> 63<sup>1</sup>. 2 Jer. 10<sup>9</sup> Mal. 2<sup>16</sup>; 13 times in Job, Prov., and other poems; 6 in Pss.; 8 in Hists. None of these seems pertinent here.

Verse 15. רֶקֶמָה, only in Ezk. 16<sup>10</sup>. 13. 18 (of the brilliant finery of Jerusalem) 17<sup>5</sup> 26<sup>13</sup> 27<sup>7</sup>. 13. 21 (of Tyre) 1 Chr. 29<sup>2</sup> (of David's preparations for the Temple) Jdg. 5<sup>30</sup>.

זֶבֶח is almost wholly a prophetic term, occurring only in Is. 18<sup>7</sup>, "In that time shall a present be brought to Jahweh of Hosts . . . to Mount Zion"; 23<sup>7</sup>; 53<sup>7</sup>, "As a lamb that is led to the slaughter" (so in Jer. 11<sup>19</sup>); 55<sup>13</sup>, "Ye shall go out with joy and be led forth with peace"; Jer. 31<sup>9</sup>, "With supplications will I lead them" (at the Return); Hos. 10<sup>6</sup> 12<sup>2</sup>; Zeph. 3<sup>10</sup>, "My suppliants shall bring Mine offering"; 3 times in Job; 6 in Pss.; 3 in Ezra.

בְּתוּלֹת, plur., only in Is. 23<sup>4</sup> Ezk. 44<sup>22</sup> Am. 8<sup>13</sup> Zech. 9<sup>17</sup> Lam. 1<sup>4</sup>. 18 2<sup>10</sup>. 21 5<sup>13</sup>; 3 times in Pss.; Ex. 22<sup>16</sup> 2 Sam. 13<sup>18</sup>; 3 times in Esth. Of these, the references in Am., Zech., and Lam. are to Jerusalem, though only the last has the tone of the psalm. Other terms appear, like שְׂפָרָה in Is. 14<sup>2</sup> Joel 2<sup>29</sup>; אֶמֶר in Nah. 2<sup>7</sup>, "Huzzab is uncovered . . . and her handmaids mourn as with the voice of doves"; and עֲלָמָה in Cant. 1<sup>8</sup> 6<sup>6</sup>.

רָעָה, only in Jdg. 11<sup>37</sup>. 38 (Jephthah's daughter). רָעָה, sing., occurs 9 times in Cant.

אֶחָדָה, cf. Ex. 15<sup>20</sup> (Miriam's train).

בִּיא, *Hiphil*, is very frequent in the Prophecies of the "bringing back" of the exiles, etc.

לֵךְ is changed to לָהּ by Wellhausen and Duhm,<sup>26</sup> maintaining the reference to the בַּת מֶלֶךְ in the third person. It may also be pointed לָךְ, referring to the king, and thus preserving the verse-parallelism.

Not enumerated: מֶלֶךְ (see v. 6).<sup>27</sup>

Verse 16. שִׂמְחָה occurs 15 times in Is.; 7 in Jer.; 2 in Ezk.; once each in Joel, Zeph., Jon., and Zech.; 17 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; once in Cant.; 13 times in Pss.; once each in Gen., Num., Deut., Jdg., 1 and 2 Sam., and Kgs.; 28 times in the later Hists. It is used *positively*, i.e. of the establishment or maintenance of joy, in Is. 9<sup>3</sup>, "Thou hast multiplied the nation, Thou hast increased their joy"; 22<sup>13</sup> (of feasting); 29<sup>19</sup>, "The meek shall increase their joy in Jahweh"; 30<sup>29</sup>, "Ye shall have . . . gladness of heart"; 35<sup>10</sup>, "The ransomed of Jahweh shall return . . . everlasting joy upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness" (so in 51<sup>11</sup>); 51<sup>8</sup>, "Joy and gladness shall be found therein" (Zion); 55<sup>12</sup>, "Ye shall go out with joy"; 61<sup>7</sup>, "Everlasting joy shall be unto

<sup>25</sup> Note, however, the extraordinary reading, "Heshbon," found in two MSS. of the LXX, with Duhm's suggestion as to its origin.

<sup>26</sup> Though by the latter for an unintelligible reason.

<sup>27</sup> But note Grätz's proposed repointing

them"; Jer. 15<sup>16</sup>, "Thy words were unto me a joy and the rejoicing of my heart"; 31<sup>7</sup>, "Sing with gladness for Jacob"; 33<sup>11</sup>, "Again shall be heard . . . the voice of joy and the voice of gladness" (as against 7<sup>31</sup> 16<sup>9</sup> 25<sup>10</sup> 48<sup>30</sup>); Jon. 4<sup>6</sup>; Zeph. 3<sup>17</sup>, "He will rejoice over thee with joy"; Zech. 8<sup>19</sup>, "[The feasts] shall be to the house of Judah joy and gladness." The couplet **שִׂשְׁוֹן יִשְׁמְחֶה** occurs 11 times in Is. and Jer., once in Zech. and in Ps. 51<sup>8</sup>.

**ל** occurs only in Is. 16<sup>10</sup> Jer. 48<sup>33</sup> Hos. 9<sup>1</sup> Joel 1<sup>16</sup> Dan. 1<sup>10</sup> Job 3<sup>22</sup> Prov. 23<sup>24</sup>; 3 times in Pss. — never in a positive sense parallel to this or with **שִׂמְחָה** except in Ps. 43<sup>4</sup>.

Not enumerated: **יָבֵל** (see v.<sup>16</sup>), **הִיבֵל** (see v.<sup>9</sup>), **מִלֵּךְ** (see v.<sup>9</sup>).

This section shows at first the special influence of Ezk., and then that of the references in Is. and Jer. to the Return. Verse<sup>15</sup> gives the impression of having to do with the jubilation of the Temple worship, so that **הִיבֵל מִלֵּךְ** may possibly refer to the Temple, though we have no good parallels to the exact expression.

The terms of vv.<sup>11-12</sup> 14-16 have led to the widespread interpretation of this psalm as an actual Marriage Ode, in which, after celebrating the virtues of the bridegroom, the bride is addressed with paternal counsel and then the marriage procession is described.<sup>28</sup> This interpretation is plausible up to a certain point. But the same features may be interpreted to refer to the ideal bridal relation between the Holy People and Jahweh, as repeatedly set forth in the Prophecies (notably in negative form in Hos. 1-3 Joel 1<sup>8</sup> Jer. 3 Ezk. 16, and with elaborate positiveness in Is. 54, 61, 62, not to speak of the poetic treatment of Cant.). The drift of the evidence presented in the foregoing pages is toward the supposition that the bridal quality in our psalm is an echo of this conception as presented in Deutero-Is., and is therefore ideal rather than historically actual.

In justifying this supposition it is worth while rapidly to review the ground covered by our whole study. We have set ourselves to consider the lexical connections, large and small, that seem to bind this psalm either with other psalms apparently of its own class or with the Prophecies, in the hope of discovering the probable meaning of its several expressions and the general drift of thought running through each of its sections and their combination together. Comparing it with other "royal" psalms made it evident that there were strong similarities between parts of it and 89, 18, 72, 21, 61, 110, 132, at least — the points of connection being confined to the characterization of "the king" as one in whom is found not only the evidences of divine favor but the possession of something of a divine quality

<sup>28</sup> Finely developed by Delitzsch.

and attributes. This all went to strengthen the impression that has been emphasized in the older commentation generally that the psalm is Messianic in significance, not only by virtue of an acquired and perhaps fantastic interpretation, but by original intention, at least on the part of its final editor. But, on the other hand, comparison with other "royal" psalms failed to shed any light on the passages referring to the "daughter," as well as on some of the details of "the king's" splendor. This seemed to indicate that, after all, this poem stands apart in its realistic treatment of some event not ordinarily associated with "Messianic" thought or writing. This, in turn, went to strengthen the view now widely current that the psalm is properly a secular ode, rather arbitrarily incorporated into the sacred writings, and possibly here and there altered to fit it for its place.

Here we turned to the second line of comparison, that with the Prophecies. We at once encountered a very extensive array of parallels, covering not only the references to "the king," but those to the "daughter" as well, the parallelism touching almost every detail of the poem in some way. These parallels — the more striking of which we have quoted in full — were widely scattered in the Prophecies, their distribution, character, and contextual setting being such as to make it extremely difficult to suppose that any large number of them are echoes of this highly unique psalm, but rather indicating that the psalm in its present shape is based upon them or upon the process of thought that produced them. After deducting all that may be necessary for similarities of mere vocabulary, which might be due to various not very significant causes, there still remains before us a notable body of prophetic passages in which there is a plausible similarity of thought, treatment, and spirit with our psalm. Among these, chapters like Jer. 33, Ezk. 16 and 37, Is. 45-61 (not to mention chapters in Proto-Is.), Mic. 4 and 6, Zeph. 3, Zech. 8-9, etc., stand out in prominence. These passages are too numerous and too applicable in detail to be neglected in the interpretation of the psalm, especially as they relate to the whole contents of the psalm and supply a consistent view of its many features.

Succinctly stated, the interpretation thus suggested is as follows. The topic of the whole is the relation established between Jahweh and the Holy People through His anointed "king" at a time of national forgetfulness and yet of possible return and restoration. "The king" is vividly and realistically pictured in terms drawn from Deutero-Isaiah and perhaps Zechariah, with coloring similar to that of Canticles, as superior to men in beauty and grace, as "mighty in

battle" against his foes, as devoted to equity and righteousness, and as crowned with felicity in his superiority over his "fellows" and earthly powers generally. In contrast is the "daughter [of Zion]" who has laid herself open to rebuking counsel by "forgetting" her heritage, but whom "the king" is ready to meet with "desire" and the acceptance of her homage, who is ideally arrayed in the vestments of a queen and depicted as approaching "the king" in royal state, their meeting being described in terms implying religious as well as secular festivity. Whether the whole points to the imagery of a *marriage* between "the king" and his "daughter" is not absolutely clear, though the addition of this feature is easy from the prophetic parallels. At all events, she is pictured "*like* a bride," as Deutero-Isaiah puts it (49<sup>18</sup> 61<sup>10</sup>). The poem closes with a verse that implies that the entire attitude of contemplation is prospective rather than retrospective, looking to the ascendancy of the royal seed "in the whole earth." (Verse 18, as has been explained, looks like a liturgical antiphon adapted to its place by a small change.)

This general interpretation makes the psalm dependent at least on Deutero-Isaiah, and indicates that its date cannot well be earlier than the end of the exile. Of course, it is entirely possible to argue that it is not only subsequent to the exile, but subsequent by a long period. This is the contention of many commentators. Thus Olshausen, while asserting that no conclusion as to date is possible from the style and language, thinks that the whole refers to the actual marriage of Alexander Jannaeus and Cleopatra. Thus Cheyne, though grudgingly allowing the possibility of attributing it to the time of Jeroboam II. or of Darius, labors to convince us that "the king" is Ptolemy Philadelphus. Thus Duhm thinks that the hero must be "one of the Ptolemies." While not denying the possibility of these and similar hypotheses, it must be urged that the possibility also exists of supposing that the whole conception is ideal, and ideal along exactly the lines indicated by the prophecies ordinarily called "Messianic." It is not necessary even to insist that the psalm must have been sufficiently subsequent to these writings to admit of their wide popular diffusion, since it is conceivable that the psalm was drafted, in whole or in part, by one of the prophetic writers or a fellow-worker for the cause of national righteousness. The closer the links of style and usage can be shown to be, the greater the presumption that the documents compared belong to the same or neighboring periods, especially if, as in this case, there is a striking lack of just those marks of late date that are now so diligently magnified — the

bitter reaction against oppression and violent assault, the traces of internal strife and partisanship, and the exaltation of a formalistic and Pharisaic legalism.

Supposing that the drift of the comparative evidence here presented is admitted to be toward the hypothesis that the completed poem embodied ideal conceptions of "the king" and the "daughter," it is necessary to consider just what details are inconsistent with this conclusion. The chief of these opposing features are these: (1) as to "the king," the realistic details of vv.<sup>9-10</sup>, especially the "kings' daughters" and the "queen," and of vv.<sup>14-16</sup>, as well as the thought of v.<sup>17</sup>, with its apparent reference to a royal line; and (2) as to the "daughter," the received reading of v.<sup>11</sup> about "forgetting," the uncertain identity of the "daughter" in v.<sup>11</sup> with "the king's daughter" in v.<sup>14</sup>, and the details of what seems like a procession in vv.<sup>15-16</sup>. Different minds will appraise these difficulties at different values. Hupfeld, Hitzig, Delitzsch, Olshausen, and most recent critics assume without argument that they indicate a definite historic occasion actually witnessed or foreseen. It is conceivable, however, that nearly every one of them can be so viewed as to harmonize with the general theory here being discussed. The filling in of detail seems to be plainly under the same sort of lyric impulse that we find in Canticles, with the Bridal Song in which (4<sup>8</sup> to 5<sup>1</sup>), by the way, it is thought that the psalm conforms in versification.<sup>29</sup> The difficulty about v.<sup>17</sup> can be obviated either by attributing to it a special touch of fancy or by supposing that the suffixes should be feminine instead of masculine.<sup>30</sup> The more serious difficulty of v.<sup>10</sup> diminishes as the psalm is compared with Canticles (especially 6<sup>8</sup>), or may be made to vanish if perchance it should be shown that שָׁלֵל is a corruption.

Still another line of possibility is opened up by supposing that back of our present psalm stood a royal ode of smaller dimensions, which may or may not have been a marriage ode. It is quite possible that such an ode, originally secular, might have been taken as the nucleus for an amplification in a direction harmonious with the Deutero-Isaianic conception of God as Israel's husband. This nucleus, if it existed, would be most easily attributable to the reign of Hezekiah.<sup>31</sup>

For myself, I have been inclined to believe that some theory of a nucleus thus built out best explains the phenomena. But I do not

<sup>29</sup> Duhm.

<sup>30</sup> So Peschitto. See Grätz.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Baethgen's treatment of Ps. 72.

see how the "nucleus" can be recovered except by the application of processes of analysis that are more or less subjective. Certain whole lines and verses seem least likely to have belonged to it, namely :

Verse 3, "Therefore God hath blessed thee for ever";  
 Verse 5, "Because of truth . . . and righteousness";  
 Verse 6, "The peoples fall under thee";  
 Verse 7, "Thy throne God [has established] for ever";  
 Verses 11-12, and perhaps 14-15, entire;  
 Verse 16 entire.

To these may further be added the following :

Verse 2, "I am speaking what I have made as to the king";  
 Verse 8, "Therefore Jahweh thy God hath anointed thee  
 With the oil of gladness more than thy fellows."

This, if carried out in the extreme form, would leave the original ode about half as long as the present psalm, and wholly devoted to the celebration of "the king." If, however, it be supposed that the original was a nuptial ode, it might easily have included vv. 14-16.

If the multiplied parallels between the Psalm and the Prophecies be considered as significant as has been urged in this essay, then the "nucleus" will probably be represented only by vv. 9-10, 12, with isolated words or expressions in other verses. These latter cannot be identified with certainty, even though their existence is fully conceded.

This theory of composite structure was first impressed upon me by certain statistical tests that I have for several years been experimenting with in trying to separate the strata of materials that seem to be discernible in combination all through the Psalter. These tests consist primarily in observations upon the proportion of "rare" and "common" words, "rareness" and "commonness" being measured roughly by the number of psalms in which the words appear. This psalm as a whole ranks very high in the proportion of "rare" words in it, being surpassed by not more than ten others; but it also contains curious "pockets" that abound in "common" words. This particular line of evidence is to me one of the strong reasons for believing that v. 18 is an *addendum*, this verse being totally devoid of "rare" words. Verse 17 is notably deficient also, and v. 11 somewhat so, both being the more noticeable because following verses of a different character. To explain this test would take far more space than is here available, and, of course, unless supported by other lines of argument, it is not at all conclusive. I mention it only because at

several points in this essay the views stated have probably been more or less influenced by it.

If this thought regarding compositeness be adopted, the structure of the psalm may be typographically exhibited as follows — though with the understanding throughout that the analysis is provisional and tentative both as a whole and in various details:

[Prologue of uncertain date, possibly belonging to an early secular ode, but probably later.]

- 2 My heart bubbles over [with] a good word;  
I am speaking my poem(?) as to the King;  
My tongue is the pen of a facile scribe.

[Address to the King, possibly made up of three layers: the first, a secular ode (time of Hezekiah?), of which only fragments are utilized; the second, called forth by prophetic delineations of the Messianic King, having more than royal dignity (end of the exile?); and the third, slight, explanatory, or liturgical *addenda* cognate with passages in other psalms (post-exilic?). The first of these is indicated by italics at the left of the page, and the third by smaller italics at the right, while the second occupies the centre.]

- 3 In beauty Thou art fairer than mortals;  
Grace is poured upon Thy lips —

*Yea, God hath blessed Thee for ever.*

- 4 Gird Thy sword on Thy thigh, Thou Hero,  
Thy glory and Thy majesty.

- 5 Hail to Thee! Ride . . .

*Because of [Thy] truth and . . . righteousness.*

And Thy right hand shall work wonders.

- 6 *Thine arrows are sharp —*

*The peoples fall before Thee —*

*In the midst of the royal enemies.<sup>32</sup>*

- 7 Thy throne God [establisheth] eternally;  
The sceptre of Thy rule is that of equity;

- 8 Thou hast loved the right and hated evil;  
Therefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee

*With the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.*

- 9 *Myrrh, aloes, and cassia are [on] all thy robes;  
From ivory palaces music makes thee glad.*

- 10 *Princesses are [decked] in thy jewels;  
Beside thee stands the queen in gold of Ophir.*

<sup>32</sup> This reference of v.<sup>6</sup> to the earlier *stratum* is very tentative. Possibly several details in vv.<sup>4-5</sup> should be similarly marked.

[Address to Israel as the Beloved of her King, possibly embodying further fragments of an original ode.]

- 11 Listen, thou Daughter [of Zion], consider, attend !  
Hast thou forgotten thy people and thy Father's house?
- 12 The King longs after thy beauty ;  
For He is thy lord ; prostrate thyself to Him.
- 13 *Even the daughter of Tyre [comes] with a gift ;  
Thou art besought by the rich of the people[s].*
- 14 All glorious is the royal daughter ;  
Corals and woven gold [adorn] her raiment.
- 15 On tapestries she comes to the King,  
Her train of maidens following her.
- 16 With joy and gladness they come ;  
They enter the House of the King.<sup>83</sup>
- 17 In place of thy fathers shall be thy children ;  
Thou shalt set them as princes in the whole earth.

[Liturgical antiphon — late.]

- 18 *I will sing praise to Thy name in all ages ;  
Yea, the peoples shall acknowledge Thee eternally.*

In conclusion, it may be worth while simply to advert to one other possible bearing of the reasoning that has here been pursued. If the general interpretation here emphasized be accepted, especially as concerns the force of מֶלֶךְ, and the psalm be looked upon as a lyric based upon the ideas so eloquently set forth in the Prophets of the Return, it is possible to catch sight of an interesting unity of thought running through the series of psalms from 42 to 48. The great central ideas would seem to be two: "God is our King," and "Zion is His throne or capital." Each psalm presents some one phase of this general subject, and the variety of texture suggests that we have here works of several different periods; but it is possible that a feeling of unity between them may have led to their editorial collocation as we have them. This suggestion, if pursued, would of course lead out indefinitely not only into a discussion of these psalms, but into the examination of others that might be thought to be affiliated with each other and with the special phase of prophetic teaching that has here been brought into prominence.

<sup>83</sup> Verses 14-16 may belong to the earlier *stratum*.

## PROCEEDINGS.

DECEMBER, 1899.

THE thirty-fifth meeting of the Society was held in room 413 of the Columbia University Library Building, beginning Thursday, December 28, at 2.40 P.M., with President Moore in the chair. The reading of the records was omitted, as they had been distributed in printed form. Professor Gottheil reported for the Committee of Arrangements. The Treasurer presented his report, and the Recording Secretary read his financial statement. These two reports were referred to an Auditing Committee, consisting of Messrs. Dickerman and F. Brown. Messrs. McGiffert, Schmidt, and Frame were appointed a Committee to nominate officers. It was voted to postpone further business to the beginning of the evening session, and to follow the order of the printed programme, except where more than one paper is presented by the same person. At 2.50 President Moore read the annual address. The subject of this paper was "The Age of the Jewish Canon of Hagiographa." This was discussed by Dr. Kohler.

From 3.45 to 6 papers were read and discussed as follows:—

By President Ramsay, "A Study of the Great Commission, Matt. 28<sup>10, 20</sup>." Discussed by Messrs. Schmidt, Kohler, and Ewell.

By Professor Lyon, "Rubute-Rehoboth in the El-Amarna Tablets."

By Dr. Votaw, "Dates and Duration of Jesus' Public Ministry." Discussed by Professor Briggs.

By Dr. Peters, "The Primitive Religion of Israel and the Religion of Moses." Discussed by Messrs. Moxom and Kohler.

At 6 the Society took a recess for dinner and a social hour at the University restaurant.

**Thursday Evening, December 28.**—The Society reassembled at 8.15. Professor Lyon gave the report from the Publishing Committee. The Council recommended the following persons for active membership in the Society, and they were unanimously elected:—

Rev. Owen H. Gates, Ph.D., Dorset, Vt.  
 Prof. George R. Berry, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.  
 Wallace N. Stearns, Ph.D., Delaware, O.  
 Rev. Nathan A. Seagle, 640 Madison Avenue, N.Y. City.  
 Rev. W. K. J. Fiebke, Liverpool, N.Y.  
 Arthur Bumstead, B.A., Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.  
 Rev. Warren J. Moulton, Ph.D., Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.  
 Rev. Nathan Söderblom, 2 Rue Maleville, Paris, France.  
 Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch, Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.  
 Prof. George W. Osborn, M.A., Univ. of N.Y., Univ. Heights, N.Y. City.  
 Prof. Franklin W. Hooper, M.A., Brooklyn Inst., 502 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N.Y.  
 Rev. Charles S. Albert, D.D., Editor *Augsburg S.S. Teacher*, Phila, Pa.

The Recording Secretary read his statistical report. A statement was presented from Professor Thayer, of the Committee on an American School of Oriental Research in Palestine. This embodied a circular to be sent out immediately, appealing for funds for the establishment of the school.

From 8.30 to 10 papers were read and discussed as follows:—

By Professor Haupt, "Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual." Discussed by Messrs. Kohler and Moore. By Dr. Macfarland, "The Use of Prophecy by Jesus." Discussed by Professor Briggs. By Professor Schmidt, "The 'Son of Man' in the Book of Daniel." By President Ramsay, "Note on Exodus 6<sup>3</sup>." On this Professor Moore remarked.

Adjourned to Friday morning at 9.30.

**Friday Morning, December 29.**—The Society met at 9.40. Professor Gould read a paper on "The Alexandrian Gospel." Discussed by Messrs. Briggs and Thurston.

The Council reported that Professor Lyon having declined reëlection as Corresponding Secretary, a vote of thanks had been extended to him for his efficient services; and that as correspondence would be necessary to fill the vacancy, no name would be reported at present. They announced the election of Professor J. H. Ropes and Rev. W. H. Cobb as the two additional members of the Publishing Committee.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be returned to the President and officers of Columbia University, and to the Committee of Arrangements, for the accommodations furnished for this meeting.

Dr. Dickerman reported for the Auditing Committee that the

accounts of the Treasurer and Recording Secretary were correct and properly vouched.

Professor McGiffert reported for the Committee on Nominations, and the report was accepted and adopted, the following officers being elected : —

Dr. John P. Peters,	<i>President.</i>
Prof. Edward Y. Hincks,	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Rev. William H. Cobb,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. Willis J. Beecher,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Prof. Lewis B. Paton,	} <i>Associates</i>
Prof. Benjamin W. Bacon,	
Dr. William H. Ward,	
Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil,	
Prof. Ernest D. Burton,	
	<i>in</i>
	<i>Council.</i>

From 10.20 to 12.50 papers were read and discussed as follows : —

By Professor Bacon, "The Doctrine of Faith in Hebrews, James, and Clement of Rome." Discussed by Messrs. Ropes, Gould, and McGiffert. By Professor Prince, "Notes, Psalms 2<sup>11</sup>. 12."

By Professor Lyon, "Did the Assyrians observe a Day corresponding to the Hebrew Sabbath?" By Professor Haupt, "Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Proverbs."

By Professor Bacon, "Further Displacements in the Fourth Gospel." Discussed by Professor Briggs. By Professor Prince, "Note on אֶרֶץ Isaiah 44<sup>14</sup>."

By Professor Schmidt, "Notes on Some Passages in Enoch." By Professor Haupt, "The Hebrew Word שְׁלִישׁ"; "Professor Delitzsch's New Cuneiform Chrestomathy."

At 12.50 the Society adjourned.

WILLIAM H. COBB,  
*Recording Secretary.*

**Members in attendance.** — Bacon, Bucher, Bradley, Briggs, F. Brown, Cobb, Dickerman, Ewell, Fagnani, Frame, G. Gilmore, R. Gottheil, Gould, Haupt, Hazard, Hooper, Jackson, Kohler, Lyon, McFarland, McGiffert, G. Moore, Moxom, Peters, Prince, Ramsay, J. Ropes, Sanders, Schmidt, Schwab, Thurston, Votaw, Williams, Wolf, Wood, Woolley.

ANNUAL REPORT  
OF  
THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE  
AND EXEGESIS,  
*December 27, 1898, to December 28, 1899.*

**Receipts.**

Balance in bank, last Report . . . . .	\$359 87
<b>INCOME:</b>	
Initiation dues . . . . .	\$30 00
Annual dues . . . . .	464 55
Interest on deposits . . . . .	9 49
	<hr/>
	504 04
<b>Total</b> . . . . .	<hr/> <b>\$863 91</b> <hr/>

**Disbursements.**

Expenses of Recording Secretary, Jan. 3, 1899 . . . . .	\$13 00
“ “ Corresponding Secretary, Jan. 3, 1899 . . . . .	17 25
Cushing & Co.: Journal, XVII. 2, Jan. 23, 1899 . . . . .	291 20
Janitor of Columbia Univ., and postal order, May 5, 1899 . . . . .	1 05
<b>TREASURER'S EXPENSES:</b>	
Express on book, Jan. 7 and 14, 1899 . . . . .	\$0 76
Postage, Jan. 7, May 5, June 1, 1899 . . . . .	6 94
	<hr/>
	7 70
Collections on checks . . . . .	3 40
Cash in bank, Dec. 28, 1899 . . . . .	530 31
	<hr/>
<b>Total</b> . . . . .	<hr/> <b>\$863 91</b> <hr/>

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIS J. BEECHER, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,

LYSANDER DICKERMAN, }  
FRANCIS BROWN, } *Auditors.*

**REPORT**

OF

**FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY.****Receipts.**

Balance, last Report . . . . .	\$89 00
Sales of Journal . . . . .	164 40
Annual dues of Recording Secretary . . . . .	3 00
	<hr/>
	\$256 40
	<hr/>

**Disbursements.**

1899.

Jan. 7, Distributing Vol. XVII. 2 . . . . .	\$14 50
" 9, Printing circulars . . . . .	6 10
Feb. 18, Berwick & Smith: presswork . . . . .	67 54
" 18, Import duties . . . . .	2 25
Dec. 20, Distributing Vol. XVIII. . . . .	26 18
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**CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS**  
**OF THE**  
**SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.**

(As amended June 13, 1889.)

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**CONSTITUTION.**

**I.**

**THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."**

**II.**

**The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.**

**III.**

**The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be all ex-Presidents of the Society, and the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.**

**IV.**

**Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.**

**V.**

**The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.**

## VI.

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council, for the object stated in Article II., provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

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BY-LAWS.

## I.

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

## II.

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

## III.

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

## IV.

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

## V.

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

## VI.

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

## VII.

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

## VIII.

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

## IX.

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.



The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

*Resolved:* That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment

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# JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

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## Address and Destination of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

TULANE UNIVERSITY.

### I.

THE facts that call for a discussion of this subject are not of an abstruse or recondite nature ; they are neither very hard to ascertain with reasonable exactness, nor prone to mislead in their logical hearings. Indeed, they lie on the surface and loudly appeal for critical consideration. The reason why this appeal so long passed unheeded need not be sought elsewhere than in a strong and overmastering prejudice. That the Scripture in question is a capital document of the most primitive Christianity, that it shelters the inmost core of Christian (or, at least, Protestant) doctrine, that it was dictated by the Apostle Paul before A.D. 60, in the first full-bloom of the new-found faith, that it is the most perfect mirror of his spirit, smooth as a summer sea untroubled by any gusts of passion, or dissension, or personal vindication, such as ruffle his other epistles, that it was written to the Church at Rome, written at or near Corinth, on a certain occasion and under very well-known conditions, — all this has for ages been assumed as so self-evident that to call it in question could be regarded only as a hypercritical whim, about which the less said the better.

The denials of Evanson were quite superficial, and the deeper grounded negations of Bruno Bauer repelled by their uncouth and lumbering style, as well as by their rabid temper. So the great stream of assent has rolled and continues to roll on with scarce diminished volume through the ages, sweeping everything before it by its sheer inertia. As not one in a thousand could assign any satisfactory reason of his own for the simplest features of his everyday scientific faith, so neither could he for his faith in the accepted teachings just mentioned. With this difference, however: for his

belief in science he could appeal to the authority of numbers who had studied the matter for many years without prejudice, and who were of one mind on the subject; whereas, though the authorities on *Romans* were of one mind, there was hardly one that had studied the fundamental questions carefully and without bias—all had accepted or recommended foregone conclusions. This immense bulk of authority, considered in itself, is indeed imposing; but in an atmosphere of universal assent, it is like a body immersed in a fluid of its own density—it weighs nothing at all.

Nevertheless, there are some facts so patent as long ago to have provoked attention. Semler perceived the difference in *timbre* between the last two and the foregoing chapters, as well as the clear indications of the textual conditions. He proposed (*Paraphrasis*, 1769) a solution that called forth frequent modification and energetic rejection and has fixed critical attention upon these chapters even to this day. Baur followed in Semler's steps, and found for his rejection of the two chapters a place waiting in his own general theory of New Testament Scriptures. Lucht confirmed the Baurian view in a special treatise of masterful acumen and thoroughness. Volkmar hailed Lucht's demonstration with delight, and still further sharpened its precision and refined its analysis in his own *Römerbrief* (1875). Renan recognized the necessity of accounting in some way for the peculiar phenomena both of the style and of the manuscripts, and he proposed a fanciful explanation more comprehensive than any of his predecessors'. The coryphaeus of British biblical criticism, Bishop Lightfoot, promptly rejected the explanation of Renan, but at the same time could not disguise from himself any longer the fact that there was something to be explained. Accordingly, he propounded a theory of a Second Recension, less thorough-going than Renan's, but very notable as emanating from the focus of English orthodoxy. However conservative, it was far too radical for Dr. Hort, who straightway crossed lances with Lightfoot. The latter was not slow in rejoinder. In this interesting encounter the advantage seemed to lie clearly with the Bishop, to whose final arguments we do not know that Hort made any reply. In the great Pauline controversy as waged in Holland and Switzerland, the arguments have turned on other considerations. Loman hardly alludes to the subject in hand; his strength lay in clairvoyance, not in textual criticism. The treatment of the all-round master, Van Manen, is not adequate, and that of Michelsen, while trenchant, is too summary. It is Riggensbach who has of late discussed the textual phase with great thoroughness as

regards the Doxology, though under strong bias and without any respect to the larger issues involved. Cramer has touched upon the mere textual question, and Zahn has reviewed the whole field with his wonted ability, and at the same time with his incurable critical strabismus. But these critics one and all (Van Manen and Loman of course excepted) have attacked the problem with invincible prepossessions. The Pauline traditions stood for them in the main unshakably firm; their aim was to save as much as possible to Paul and to Rome.

It is our conviction that no correct or satisfactory result can ever be reached by such methods. We must approach the problem, stripped of all prejudice, equally ready to accept all or none as Pauline, to find a monolith or a mosaic, a unital epistle or a composite tractate. From this point of view the question merges at once into the incomparably larger one of the Origin and Composition of the famous Scripture, "Unto Romans," of which, however, it remains a distinct, integrant part, capable and worthy of separate treatment.

We observe then, at the outset, that the earliest extant title of this Scripture is Πρὸς Ῥωμαίους (Unto Romans). So  $\aleph$  BAC and DFG in the titles of the pages. The specifications, "*Epistle*" and "*Paul's*," appear later. They are certainly derivable from the present text that follows, as is the simplest title itself, but it is not superfluous to note their original absence. The strong tendency toward text-expansion is well illustrated in the title as given, for instance, in L: "Epistle to Romans of the holy and all-blessed Apostle Paul."

Passing over for the present so much that is notable in the Address, we come to v.<sup>2</sup>: "To all those that are in Rome beloved of God, called (to be) saints" (πάντων τοῖς ὄντιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις). Instead of this we read in G, πάντων τοῖς ὄντιν ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις (to all that are in love of God, called [to be] saints). Similarly the Latin version g. Fixing our eyes on this variant we must ask: Is it derivable from the accepted text? and if so, how?—by accident? or by design? It seems impossible for it to be the result of accident. For it seems improbable that so large a word as ΡΩΜΗ, and so important, the keyword of the Scripture before him, should escape the eye of the scribe at the very beginning of his work; and still more improbable, almost impossible, that he should at the same time omit by accident the syllable ΤΟΙC, thus relieving the grammatical difficulty caused by the omission of ΡΩΜΗ. Neither would he have omitted ΤΟΙC by design, to correct the syntax. For, if he had so soon perceived his omission of

ΡΩΜΗ, he would certainly have inserted such a capital word, and not have dared change the whole reference of the Scripture by attempting to correct one omission by another. We must dismiss, then, the hypothesis of accident as extremely improbable.

On the other hand, had the copyist designed to change the address, to make it general by omitting all reference to Rome, it was simple and natural and almost inevitable to omit ΕΝΡΩΜΗ; indeed, so very natural does it seem that critics of first rank regularly speak of it as having been actually done: they say, Gg omit ἐν Ῥώμῃ. So even Baljon and Riggenbach. So Weiss, Godet, Sanday, Headlam, and nearly all others that take any note of the fact at all. But the notion that any one would want to change and generalize the address in this way is a mere fancy, caught out of the air. Why was it not done in case of the other Letters, of many of which the contents are equally general? Had this Scripture been addressed originally to a small congregation that afterwards dwindled out of sight, it might be intelligible that the address should be changed; but that any one should be so bold as to destroy the address to the all-ruling Church of Rome, is in the last degree improbable. On the other hand, that such a church should take to itself, should adopt and adapt such an important composition, by some slight change of title or otherwise, seems just as likely as the other is unlikely.

Let us suppose, then, for the moment that the text stood as in G, τοῖς εὖσιν ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ, and that the problem was to alter this general address into an address to Rome, as simply as possible. Nothing could be simpler than to insert Ῥώμῃ after ἐν, but then it would be necessary (and nothing more would be needed) to insert τοῖς after ἀγάπῃ. Hereby our present text would naturally, almost unavoidably, come into being. The hypothesis that the address has been specialized by insertion appears thus every way incomparably more probable than that it has been generalized by omission.

But are not **Σ** B *et al.* much older and weightier authorities than G? Certainly much older; but our appeal is not to G, but to the ancestor of G, and this may have been much older and more authoritative than either **Σ** or B. That G has preserved, in many cases, readings that are older than those of either **Σ** or B, seems certain. On the bare face of it, then, we must prefer the shorter text that makes no mention of Rome.

The only other clear indication of destination is found in v.<sup>15</sup>: "So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you also that are in Rome" (ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελίσασθαι). Here

again the indications of an earlier text are not less distinct. The same MS. G reads ἐπ' ὑμῖν εὐαγγελίσασθαι. The ΕΠ is very likely a slip of the pen for EN. We may reason here very much as before. It is hardly possible that TOICENPΩMH has fallen out by accident. We cannot believe that the scribe had no eye for "in Rome," but missed it every time, and just in a way to leave the grammatical structure perfect. But even if he had dropped out TOICENPΩMH by pure oversight, he could not at the same time have inserted ΕΠ (EN) by oversight. We must then reject the notion of accident, decisively. But neither can we explain the G-text from B as the result of design. For it is improbable as before that a reference to the Imperial City should be deleted, and even if it were not, the presence of ΕΠ (EN) would remain unexplained.

On the other hand, the omission of ΕΠ (or EN) by accident is very easy, or even by design, since it is unnecessary to the construction; and the insertion of TOICENPΩMH was equally easy, and the motive thereto quite intelligible. A reader or annotator might very naturally have made such a note as TOICENPΩMH at the word ΥΜΙΝ as expressing his own conjecture as to the persons addressed. This marginal note might then have been taken up by the next copyist into the text. Such influxes from the margin are common enough. Or the phrase may have been boldly inserted in the first place by some editor who thought to give point and importance to the document by addressing it to Rome, or to honor the great Capital Church by addressing to it such a document. Just here we cannot be sure, but we may very confidently hold that the G-text was not derived from our received text, but from some MS. older perhaps than any extant, in which there was no mention of Rome.

This same conclusion has been drawn from two independent phenomena in vv.<sup>7</sup> and <sup>15</sup>. It explains both at once and with equal ease, whereas the alternative, that the G-text is derived from the Received, requires for its support a substruction of hypotheses, a concurrence of accidents in the highest degree unlikely. *Prima facie*, then, the G-text is every way preferable.

Before passing to the other evidence, let us hear the best that can be said in defence of the derivation of G. Hort, speaking as one having authority, would end the controversy thus: "The true text in full is πάντων τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ κλητοῖς ἁγίοις. A Western correction (D\* lat. [the Greek lost], G, the two best MSS. of the Vulgate, apparently the Ambrosian Hilary, and perhaps Hilary

of Poitiers) substituted ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ for ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, doubtless on account of the κλητοῖς following ("who . . . through the love of God are called to be saints"). The result is that ENPΩMH and ENAΓAΠHΘY were left contiguous, each beginning with ἐν. The loss of one or other out of a pair of such groups of letters is common in MSS. of any form, and would be peculiarly liable to occur in one written in columns of short lines, such as was assuredly the archetype of FG. These two MSS. have further a trick of omitting words that do not appear necessary to the sense, as might easily be the case of ἐν Πώμῃ here when the following words were changed: so εἰς σωτηρίαν 1<sup>16</sup>; ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία 2<sup>27</sup>; (οὐ πάντως 3<sup>9</sup>); Ἰησοῦ 3<sup>20</sup>; μόνον 4<sup>16</sup>; ὁ θάνατος 5<sup>12</sup>; (ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ 6<sup>13</sup>); ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται 7<sup>21</sup>; εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν 8<sup>10</sup>; νίθησίαν 8<sup>22</sup>; etc. The omission in 1<sup>7</sup> might therefore be neglected without further thought but for the parallel omission of τοῖς ἐν Πώμῃ in 1<sup>15</sup>, the name of Rome being confined to these two passages in the epistle. The coincidence would certainly be noteworthy if it were sustained by other documentary evidence, or if there were independent reasons for believing a recension of the epistle to have existed in which the marks of a special destination were purposely obliterated. There is no such reason apart from the supposed removal of 15, 16: the hypothesis is suggested by the reading of G at 1<sup>7, 15</sup>. We may therefore be content to suspect that in these two verses like causes produced like results."

If ever there was a cause irreversibly condemned by its defence, it is the cause of the Received Text as here pleaded. Hort assumes that the true text is the Received; he supposes that a Western corrector wrote ENAΓAΠH for AΓAΠHTOIC—a brave thing to do; he supposes that ENPΩMH then fell away because contiguous to another phrase beginning with EN. But what is accomplished by this double supposition? Nothing at all. Hort tells us "we might therefore neglect the omission in 1<sup>7</sup> without further thought but for the parallel omission in 1<sup>15</sup>." A very important BUT. Since there is a parallel omission, we cannot neglect them both without "further thought." But what "further thought" does Hort give them? None whatever! He says not a word in explanation of the omission in 1<sup>15</sup>. True, he "suspects" "like causes have produced like results," but this is meaningless. In 1<sup>7</sup> the "causes" *supposed* were (a) the arbitrary change of AΓAΠHTOIC into ENAΓAΠH, (b) the dropping of ENPΩMH owing to the contiguity of ENAΓAΠH. Now, what "like causes" *could* have operated in 1<sup>15</sup>? Hort has not given a hint of them; he

has left to the reader to supply what his own lively fancy could not devise. We have given the matter much "further thought"; but without advancing it a hair's breadth. It is not possible to find in Hort's language anything but the failure of his hypothesis, virtually confessed.

Hort adds that these two MSS. have a trick of omitting words, etc. As to the "trick" of FG, it is very poorly illustrated by his examples. The phrases in question are far more easily understood as interpolated than as omitted, and in perhaps every case the FG-text is the earlier. In fact, when he ascribes the shorter form of this text to a "trick," Hort speaks from the standpoint of his own Vaticanism, a standpoint already overcome by more recent textual critics. These have perceived that the concurrence of  $\aleph$  and B is by no means conclusive; that some unconsidered minuscule or version or citation may have preserved a much older reading; that God has chosen the weak, to confound the mighty, the things that are not, to annul the things that are. Even as the shepherd boy of old laid low the giant, so may at any time some neglected cursive overthrow the most venerated uncial. We turn from Hort's defence of the Received Text with greatly strengthened suspicion that the G-text is the earlier, and that its archetype contained no reference whatever to Rome.

Is there any other manuscript evidence? There is. The cursive 47, in a marginal note on 1<sup>7</sup>, observes: "Mentions the  $\epsilon\nu\ \rho\acute{o}\mu\eta$  neither in the commentary nor in the text" ( $\tau\acute{o}\ \epsilon\nu\ \rho\acute{o}\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \rho\eta\tau\hat{\omega}\ \mu\eta\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ ). There is no subject to "mentions" ( $\mu\eta\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ ), but this cursive elsewhere quotes the rare and terse and preferred reading  $\delta\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota$  (8<sup>24</sup>), saying  $\tau\acute{o}\ \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$  (the ancient [MS.] has it so), and this MS. may be the understood subject of "mentions." In any case, some ancient unknown authority, whether MS. or commentator, knew nothing of the presence of  $\epsilon\nu\ \rho\acute{o}\mu\eta$  in the text.<sup>1</sup> Even by itself this fact would be noteworthy, and it is certainly no insignificant bulwark for G. So far as it goes, it is precisely the documentary evidence desiderated by Hort. Nor is this all.

The Greek text of D is unfortunately torn off just here; it begins with  $\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ; but the Latin version d reads: *omnibus qui sunt*

<sup>1</sup> [The discovery of this same scholion in the Origenistic MS. found and investigated by Lic. v. d. Goltz in the library of the Laura of Mount Athos leaves no doubt that the subject of  $\mu\eta\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$  to be supplied is  $\text{'}\Omega\rho\iota\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ . See E. v. d. Goltz, *Eine textkritische Arbeit des zehnten bezw. sechsten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1899. (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Neue Folge, II. 4.)]

*Romae in caritate Dei, vocatis sanctis*, which would render *πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις*. But we cannot be sure it stood exactly so, for it seems certain that d and g are not mere translations of D and G, though influenced by the latter, but represent an independent text. So Riggenbach against Westcott and Hort. E, which is a copy of D, has only *πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ κλητοῖς ἁγίοις*; whence it would seem that a corrector of D had deleted *ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ* before the copy E was made. This D-text, or at least, d-text, is found again in the Codex Fuldensis exactly, and also in the Codex Amiatinus, with *dilectione* instead of *caritate*; hence, we infer, it was widespread.

Further, the Roman expositor Ambrosiaster (about A.D. 370) commenting on this verse says: *Quamvis Romanis scribat, illis tamen scribere se significat, qui in caritate dei sunt*. The obvious interpretation, the only natural one, is that the text before Ambrosiaster was: *Qui sunt in caritate dei*. Otherwise, if *Romae* had been present, the commentator would never have said: "Although he is writing to Romans, nevertheless he declares he writes to those who are in love of God." Hence it appears that although the idea had already established itself that this Scripture was addressed to Romans, nevertheless the text of 1<sup>7</sup> used by Ambrosiaster did not contain this specification so late as A.D. 370.

Still earlier, however, Origen as handed down to us twice quotes the ordinary text; but in his *Commentary on Romans* it is not so. Here the MS. that lay before him did not contain *κλητοῖς ἁγίοις* (IV. 467). Also in expounding 1<sup>7</sup> Origen says nothing about *Rome*, but speaks of the persons addressed thus (Rufinus): *dilectis dei, ad quos scribit Apostolus*. Once more, the obvious and only natural conclusion is that his MS. (circa A.D. 243) read simply *πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ*.

From all of the foregoing it seems as certain as anything of the kind can be: (a) that both in the East and in the West there existed from very early times a text without any mention of Rome in 1<sup>7</sup>; (b) that this text was considered so authoritative as to be adopted by the two earliest commentators, Origen and Ambrosiaster, though neither seems to have doubted that the Scripture was addressed to Romans; (c) that the idea that the destination was Rome established itself in the minds of men generations before the expression of this destination established itself in at least some of the best MSS.; (d) that the whole of this address (v.<sup>7</sup>) was for generations in a fluctuant uncertain state: there is no unanimity with respect to any

one of the phrases ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις. Each and every one was wanting somewhere at a very early period.

The near-lying conclusion from this whole body of facts would seem to be that the destination, or at least the form of address, v.<sup>7</sup>, was not from the start a matter of certain knowledge or even of unanimous opinion. If we suppose Paul to have written originally the address as it now stands, it is not possible to explain reasonably how this almost endless diversity crept in, and how such an extremely important phrase, in fact the one all-important phrase, ἐν Ῥώμῃ, fell away in the most authoritative MSS. both East and West. If these words were originally present, then fell away, and then were restored, we have two opposing processes going on before us: one of dissolution and loss extending far and wide through two or three centuries, followed by another of composition and gain, which finally restores the primitive form. We submit that this is unprecedented and highly improbable. It has back of it nothing at all for support save the firm-fixed prejudice, that Paul must have addressed this Scripture to Romans. But what is the basis of this conviction? Nothing whatever but the textual facts of vv.<sup>7, 15</sup>. So the elephant stands on the turtle, and the turtle again stands on the elephant.

On the other hand, if we lay aside this prejudice and accept the facts at their face-value, we are led straightway to the conclusion that this v.<sup>7</sup> is the final result of a long process of concretion and conflation. Various designations of the addressed would recommend themselves at various times to various persons: "In love of God," "beloved of God," "called saints," — and perhaps many others. It seems unlikely that the first suggestions were the very best and were finally adopted. But more than one seemed too good to be lost and so were "conflated." The specification "in Rome" seems to have come later, and why not? What more natural than that the chief Church should wish to see addressed to itself the chief writing of the chief apostle? The address of this "Epistle" to the Church of Rome by the Apostle Paul is in fact a glorification of that illustrious see and is quite of a piece with the tradition that makes Peter its founder and for twenty-five years its first bishop.

In all likelihood the notion of the Roman address, starting up, one knows not when or where or how, from a vague general feeling of the fitness of things, spread all over the Roman Empire long before the word "Rome" found any place in any MS. We venture to surmise that the first insertion was in v.<sup>15</sup>, of the parenthetic phrase τοῖς ἐν

Ῥώμῃ (those in Rome), perhaps at first a mere marginal observation. All conjectures as to the intermediate stages in a course of past events are hazardous and *a priori* improbable: there is only one way to be right, and so many ways to be wrong. But so much we may say with great confidence: that on the basis of the MSS. merely and the Fathers, the weight of evidence inclines heavily against the Roman address as original.

It remains to see whether other evidence, internal and external, makes for or against our provisional conclusion. But first we must take note of what the arch-apologist, Theodor Zahn, in full view of the documentary facts, has to say of their significance. He rejects the evasions of Hort and the explanations of Lightfoot and Riggenbach, as well as the theories of Renan and others; he admits that the text of Origen as well as that of Ambrosiaster lacked the words ἐν Ῥώμῃ; he admits that this text was widespread both East and West; what explanation, then, has he to offer? Only this: "We see herein a process of text-corruption, which began in 1<sup>1</sup> and developed itself so far in G as to attack 1<sup>15</sup> also. The thought, mighty in the ancient Church, that the epistles of Paul, despite their diverse addresses, had a universal destination (*allgemeine Bestimmung*) (*Can. Murat.* 47-59; Apollonius in Eus. *H. E.* V. 18, 5; Ambrosiaster on Col. 4<sup>10</sup>, p. 276, and *GK.* II. 74 f.), already, before Origen, seduced to a weak attempt to divest *Romans*, apparently written as no other for universal Christendom, of its special destination (*Bestimmung*)." The argument of this wonderful scholar dwindles down to a mere assertion. He assigns no reasons whatever. Whether an "attempt" that captured the MSS. adopted by Ambrosiaster and Origen, the earliest commentators on *Romans*, and the authority referred to by the scholiast on 47, and which maintained itself to the ninth century in Gg, was weak or not, we leave the reader to judge. Moreover, it is not correct that *Romans* is general in character as no other: *Ephesians* and *Colossians* are at least as general. It is true that the Church long retained a consciousness more or less clear of a general mission of the "Epistles"; but this was true of all of them, and we have no reason at all to believe that it ever suggested any generalization of the title of any. That this feeling should lead to any attempt, weak or strong, to deprive the head Church of Rome of the honor of this great epistle directed to it; and that this attempt should succeed in large measure within the very walls of Rome, where Ambrosiaster wrote (Sanday and Headlam), is a daring and desperate imagination of Zahn's, with nothing to recommend it save that it is needed in his

apology. In fact, it would never have occurred to him, had not the Pauline authorship and the Roman address stood fast in his mind as traditions to be saved at all hazards. He thinks he finds incontestable evidence of both in the Introduction that follows, vv.<sup>8-16</sup>. Let us see.

"First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith is proclaimed throughout the whole world." Do these words in themselves, apart from all preconceptions, naturally suggest the Apostle Paul writing to Romans? The only date open for such a letter falls in his last sojourn at Corinth, A.D. 58-59, according to the common reckoning. If with Harnack we push all the dates back four years, following impossible chronologic combinations, the relative situation is not altered. We know, to be sure, nothing of the origin of a Christian movement and the Church at Rome, but unless it was very different from any imaginable in harmony with received notions, it must sound very strange to speak of the congregation as world-renowned at that period. We attach little importance to chronologic determinations in early Christian history, but it seems hardly possible to find so much as ten years for the age of the Church at Rome. Even if we date its origin from the decree of Claudius expelling Jews (A.D. 49-50 according to Orosius, not earlier according to Acts 18<sup>2</sup>), we have left only nine years. Possibly, by rhetorical exaggeration, the congregation may have become world-famous by A.D. 58-59, but hardly otherwise. Certainly, no one would select it, with our present knowledge, as the congregation to which such words would specially apply. But in any case, if this Roman congregation began in some Messianic movement, or even in discussions among the Jews about the Christ, as many or most scholars infer from the statement of Suetonius (*Judaeos Chresto impulsore assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit, Claud. XXV.*), then it must have been Jewish-Christian in origin and mainly in constitution, for we cannot think of such a Jewish agitation as gaining much foothold in less than a decade among the Gentiles of Rome. This agrees with the obvious meaning of the words of Ambrosiaster (op. II. app. 25): *ex quibus (Judaeis) hi qui crediderant, tradiderunt Romanis ut Christum profitentes legem servarent; . . . Hi ergo ex Judaeis, ut datur intelligi, credentes Christum. . . .* We must suppose Ambrosiaster to have been abreast with the traditions concerning the origin of the Church in Rome, though he cannot vouch for the correctness of those traditions.

Suppose then this Roman Church started in some Messianic agita-

tion among the Jews, and had in nine years progressed so far as to justify the words of v.<sup>8</sup>: "your faith is proclaimed through the whole world." How then shall we explain the fact that in the epistle itself the readers are repeatedly addressed as Gentiles? Leaving aside all cases where ambiguity is possible, consider only 11<sup>13f</sup>: "But I speak to you that are Gentiles," etc.—a passage throughout which the Jews are regarded objectively, wholly as third parties. That there are many such passages implying certainly at least a large minority of Gentiles seems finally established by the classic memoir of Weizsäcker, and is conceded even by such a Baurian as Volkmar. Far more, however, the important section 9-11 proceeds throughout on the assumption that the rejection of the Gospel by the Jews and its acceptance by the Gentiles is a *fait accompli*, perfectly well known and acknowledged, and so complete as to call for the most elaborate reasoning to make it intelligible. Could any man in his senses write these chapters to a church that started among Jews, that consisted in great measure of Jews, and whose Jewish-Christian faith was world-renowned? With confidence we answer, no! As addressed to such a congregation, these chapters would not be the work of a rational being. It is unhistorical and incredible that an apostle could have regarded the case as settled against the Jews by the first few years of preaching. However he might preach to Gentiles, Paul himself at that time was still preaching everywhere in Jewish synagogues and first of all to Jews, and he continued to do so years afterward on his arrival in Rome (Acts 28<sup>16ff</sup>).

There are other passages equally impossible of address to such Roman Jews, as 6<sup>16-23</sup>. We must think of such a congregation as composed, at least mainly, of pious Jews and God-fearing Gentiles, as blameless in regard of the Law as Paul boasts himself. How then could he address them as "servants of sin," as "presenting their members servants to uncleanness and iniquity," as living in things whereof now they are "ashamed"? A congregation may endure very severe language from an aged, well-known, and revered spiritual leader; but what self-respecting body of Jews would bear such words from an entire stranger, who had no acknowledged right to address them at all? For it is not ordinary peccadilloes or even great crimes that are here charged upon the whole congregation, but it is shameful and disgusting vices, such as those of 1<sup>18-22</sup>. Even if the Jewish Christians of Rome had been guilty as charged, which cannot be, it would still have been wanton and incredible folly in Paul, aiming at conciliation, to have reminded them in such fashion. The same

remarks apply to the outburst in 2<sup>17-20</sup>. Not only does it do the Jew the grossest injustice, but as addressed to a body of Jews world-renowned for their faith, "full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, and able to admonish one another" (15<sup>14</sup>), it is impolitic beyond belief.

Other such passages there are in number, but these seem sufficient to show that it is at least extremely hard to understand this "Epistle" as addressed to a Jewish-Christian Church of nine years' standing.

But now let us suppose with Weizsäcker that the congregation was Gentile-Christian; are the difficulties lessened? By no means; it is a leap from the frying-pan into the fire. Instantly the whole argument from 2<sup>17</sup> to 4<sup>25</sup> becomes unintelligible, along with much else in the letter. Who can imagine the intricate disquisition in 9-11, to show that the rejection of Israel was only temporary, that all Israel was to be saved as soon as the quota (*πλήρωμα*) of Gentiles was completed, that they had an unforfeitable right to such salvation founded on God's promise to the Fathers, while the salvation of Gentiles was an act of mercy,—who can imagine such extreme Judaism addressed to a Gentile congregation? Much in these chapters is indeed the most ultra-Judaic to be found in the New Testament. But we need not dwell on the impossibility of this Scripture's being a letter to a Gentile Church in Rome; it is enough to refer to Zahn, *Einleitung*, I. § 23. Let any one try to imagine a world-famous Gentile congregation in Rome six years after the Council at Jerusalem, to whom the Christian "type of teaching" was already a tradition (6<sup>17</sup>), for whom the night was already far spent, the day near at hand (13<sup>11, 12</sup>), who were persecuted and dying all the day and reckoned as sheep for slaughter (8<sup>15, 36</sup>). The net result of Weizsäcker's brilliant pleading is merely to show the impossibility that this Scripture was addressed to Jewish Christians at Rome; the claims of Gentile Christianity are not thereby advanced an inch.

But now let us turn to Acts, our best, our only historical authority. From 28<sup>21, 22</sup> it appears that the leading Jews of Rome knew then practically nothing either of Paul or of Christianity. That there was then flourishing under their own eyes and had been flourishing for years a world-famed congregation of Christians, whether Jews or Gentiles, that this congregation, certainly partly Jewish, was well-instructed in Paulinism, having received from Paul himself the most elaborate explanation ever made of that doctrine,—all this is excluded absolutely by the closing passage in Acts (28<sup>17-31</sup>). And yet

it must have been known to Luke, if it was the fact. All the ingenuity of apologists is of no avail to escape these conclusions, which leap into our eyes directly from the sacred page. With justice the latest and most learned expounder of Acts, H. H. Wendt, concedes that this phenomenon (vv.<sup>21, 22</sup>) "ist sehr befremdlich." He can find no other solution than that of Tübingen, that Luke has here deliberately falsified, but in what interest, with what rational motive, it is impossible to see. And why does Wendt find it thus necessary to discredit his author? Simply and solely because of Rom. 1<sup>7, 18</sup> and 15<sup>22</sup>, which affirm the existence for many years of a congregation in Rome. But we have seen that in 1<sup>7, 18</sup> there is no warrant whatever for any such existence, and still more shall we see that there is none in 15<sup>22</sup>.

The argument thus far seems decisive against such conservative critics. He who can seriously hold at the same time to both the Roman address and the authenticity of Acts 28<sup>17-31</sup>, has lost the sense of opposites: he does not feel that *A* is not *not-A*, and it is useless to discuss with him further. But we ourselves would not be understood as maintaining the accuracy of the Lucan narrative. On the contrary, it seems to us to have dealt very freely with its original sources, only not in the sense of Tübingen. Of these sources the "*We*"-sections appear to be the most authentic, if not the only authentic, document of primitive Christianity. This document disappears in v.<sup>16</sup> of this chapter; the rest is the work of the compiler or recensor. According to it, Paul did indeed visit Rome, not however as a prisoner, but as a freeman, as Straatman and Van Manen have already perceived. It seems hard not to feel a new breath in 27<sup>1</sup>—"And when it was determined that *we* should sail away for Italy." What has this to do with the foregoing? It sounds strangely like a perfectly free proceeding on the part of *us*. Moreover, the whole bearing of Paul during the voyage is not that of a Roman prisoner, even when we make all allowance, with Overbeck, for interpolation. Oddities of expression repeatedly appear that make it difficult to think of a band of captives *en route* for Rome in charge of a centurion Julius. Such are the puzzling imperfect *παρεδίδουν* (they were delivering) v.<sup>1</sup>; "Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us"; and many others. Strangest of all is 28<sup>14</sup>, "where (at Puteoli) having found brethren we were entreated to tarry with them seven days." It is not strange that Blass should prefer *ἐμπεύαρες* to *ἐμπεύαν* (*having tarried* instead of *to tarry*) on the slender authority of H. 3. 33. 68. 95\*. 137, syr.<sup>p</sup> gig. Theophyl. This looks very much like a correction of some one who felt the

difficulty as keenly as Blass does. Can we imagine a band of captives hunting up "brethren" in Puteoli? or those "brethren" persuading the captives to stay with them seven days? It seems plain on its face that the "We," including Paul, are making the trip of their own accord, taking passage where and when and how they can, stopping over wherever they will, and are under no Roman orders or surveillance. The feature of the captivity has been engrafted on the primitive account, with considerable skill, but not skilfully enough to produce an illusion. The later readings, which Blass has adopted in his  $\beta$ -text, appear to proceed from dissatisfaction with the earlier redaction as not sufficiently plausible. Thus, compare the accepted text of 27<sup>1</sup> with that of Blass, on the basis of flor. gig. syr.<sup>10</sup> marg.<sup>2</sup>: Οὕτως οὖν ὁ ἡγεμὼν πέμπεσθαι αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἔκρινεν, καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον προσκαλεσάμενος ἑκατοντάρχην τινὰ σπείρης Σεβαστῆς ὀνόματι Ἰούλιον, παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸν Παῦλον σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς δεσμώταις. It seems very hard not to recognize in this verse an advanced stage of the gradual process of working over and washing out the distinctive features of the original "We-account." The words, "But when it was decided for *us* to sail away to *Italy*," showed too plainly the true state of the case, that it was a company of roving missionaries whose itinerary was undergoing recension, — hence the change in question. What this itinerary really said before *any* recension, is one of the most interesting questions in the whole range of human thought; but alas! it is unanswerable.

We observe in passing that there is no indication in 28<sup>14-15</sup> of the presence of any Christians in Puteoli or in Rome: "the brethren" was a common name for the Jews, and such is very likely its application here (*Acts passim*).

The result thus far, then, is that Luke, so far from confirming the accepted text of Romans, contradicts it broadly, and there is no way to save that text except by discrediting Luke entirely; it is impossible that Luke should have been ignorant of "Paul's Epistle to Romans," and we can discover no adequate motive for a falsification not at all to the advantage of his hero.

Let us study still further this Introduction, 1<sup>8-16</sup>. The general purport is that the writer makes oath most solemnly that he had been for a long time desiring to visit his correspondents, had often-times planned to do so, but had been hindered, had been praying incessantly and most earnestly that he might in some way be prospered to voyage unto them. The language is exceedingly strong, even plethoric in its expression of this perpetual prayer and purpose

and scheming to make this visit. Consider such heaped-up intensives as ἀδιαλείπτως (unintermittently), πάντοτε (at all times), εἴ πως ἤδη ποτὲ (if by any means now at any time); so, too, the notion of prayer is repeated (προσευχῶν, δεόμενος), and of desiring to come to see them. Pushing aside for the moment all finer critical queries, we ask: Is this reality? or is it the exaggeration of fiction? That Paul should have desired to see Rome seems natural enough; but that he was incessantly praying and planning and yet always prevented, seems much overstrained. In Acts 19<sup>21</sup> we are told that at the close of his sojourn in Ephesus Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, "After I have been there I must also see Rome." This was only a few months before the supposed writing of this epistle to Romans, and there is no trace herein of the mood or experiences of our passage. Neither is there any other mention of Rome before A.D. 59. It appears then that Acts is entirely destitute of historic basis for Rom. 1<sup>8-15</sup>. More than this, however, the Lucan narrative positively forbids us to attribute to the apostle the temper and the designs of this passage. If he was continually praying and planning to get to Rome, why does Luke never hint it? Why did he not accomplish such a set and cherished purpose? How was such a forceful and energetic spirit invariably balked in such an important resolve? Why has no trace survived of the causes or occasions of his disappointments? Why did the man whose whole heart was bent Romeward expend himself for so many years on Ephesus and Corinth, on such insignificances as Philippi, and Thessalonica, and Berea? Why did he fare back and forth across the Ægean, when it was so easy to cross the Adriatic and make straight for the Seven-hilled City? It seems impossible for any one to read the book of Acts and extract from it even a faint suspicion that the apostle was for so many years wrestling with God in uninterrupted prayer and devising plans continually, to get to Rome, and that his prayers were still denied and his plans without exception thwarted. If Paul really wrote this to Romans, A.D. 58-59, then it is difficult to acquit him of the worst type of *pia vafrilia et sancta adulatio*. For our part, we refuse to credit such a slander on the Apostle. Zahn, indeed, thinks he sees in all this the most indubitable marks of Paul addressing Romans!

When we pass now to the reasons given for this intense longing (ἐπιποθῶ), the difficulties are scarcely lightened. The first reason is, "that I may impart to you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be

established." This seems rational enough, and no one would think of carping, but for the explanation that immediately follows: "That is, to be co-comforted (*συνπαρακληθῆναι*) among you through the among-one-another faith, both of you and of me." This is confounding. The general idea that glimmers through this mist of words is that the writer longed to be comforted by their faith while they were comforted by his. But is it not strange that the great apostle should sink such a light craft of idea beneath such a cargo of syllables? The reason is good as far as it goes, but it is plainly inadequate to account for the ceaseless prayers and year-long planning. For Paul, on hearing that the Word was successfully preached among Romans, to thank God and take courage, was natural enough; but to fall into perpetual petitions and fruitless plans to see them, to comfort and be comforted, seems somewhat *de trop*. But not only is this reason inadequate, it is unrelated to the other reason of which it is the ostensible interpretation. Being "co-comforted" is not "imparting a spiritual gift." No exegete has succeeded in smoothing away this roughness. The reasons are not indeed contradictory, but they are two, they cannot be comprehended as one.

Moreover, the grammatical difficulties are great. The infinitive *συνπαρακληθῆναι* must have the subject *ἐμέ* understood, but why was it not expressed? It looks as if the aim were not clear statement but rather adumbration. And who can reconcile himself to such a phrase as "the among-one-another faith" (*τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις πίστεως*)? We may guess at the meaning, but why leave us to guess? It is hard to believe that this text is the original. The Dresden Codex G reads *διὰ τῆς ἀλλήλοις τῆς πίστεως*. These words are senseless, but whence did they come? Not from the Received Text, for it would be very strange for *ἐν* to fall out and for *τῆς* to be inserted at the same time. But *ἀλλήλοις* may have been originally a marginal note to explain *ὑμῖν* and have crept later into the text. Also the first two letters, *αν*, of such words as *αὐτῆς* are often lost in the shorthand of the MSS., hence we may with plausibility read *διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως*. Once more, let us remember that EN may easily be mistaken in copying for EME, and we obtain the probable archetype of G: *τοῦτ' ἐστι συνπαρακληθῆναι ἐμέ διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως* (that is, for me to be comforted along with you through the same faith). So Michelsen. This is a far better text, but it is still probably an interpolation, for the Midrash (*τοῦτ' ἐστι*) is always suspicious, and the comforting of the apostle is not a spiritual gift from him to them.

This is not all, however. Verse<sup>13</sup> repeats still more emphatically the assurance of v.<sup>10</sup>, but adds a new reason, "that I may have some fruit in you also, even as in the rest of the Gentiles." This motive seems very natural, but it is different from those already assigned. The obvious meaning is that he wished to convert some among them, whoever they were, as he had already done among other Gentiles, implying that they, too, were Gentiles. Any other sense of "fruit" is artificial. The impartation of a spiritual gift to them could hardly be called "having fruit" among them; still less could being "comforted" by mutual faith. This third reason does not contradict the other two, but it is widely diverse; and we wonder that any man should assign three distinct reasons, and each as *the* reason, for doing what appears such a natural thing to do.

Lastly, in vv.<sup>14-15</sup> the matter is placed in still another light. It is no longer a question of the affections, of mood or temper or desire, but of conscience. The writer is under obligations, he is a debtor, it is his bounden duty to preach Gospel, and so he is ready, as far as he can, to preach to them also. Here again, we cannot say this last reason contradicts the others; but it in no way confirms them, it in no way concerns them. They are like four inscriptions on the four sides of a square-based pyramid. Certain it is that no Roman, on reading these lines, could be quite sure what was uppermost in the writer's mind, or just what was the real reason of his longed-for visit. Such a broadside does not suggest the pen of a clear-thinking man, who has one definite and sufficient ground for his conduct, who states it and has done with it; but it does suggest the reviser and the re-reviser, who is not quite satisfied with what lies written before him, and hence amends and re-amends and re-amends again. But even if all this were hypercritical, as certainly it is not, one other massive phenomenon could not fail to arrest our sight and fix our wonder. Granted that the reasons for wanting to visit them are all good and natural and in just order; what then? What has it all to do with what follows? Do these reasons, all taken at their face value, constitute any adequate motive for the composition of this "Epistle"? Do they form any natural introduction to the dogmatic exposition that succeeds them? It does not seem possible to answer "Yes." The writer has just expressed his yearning to *see* them, not to *write* to them. Surely he could have written, if it came to that, many times in these "many years." Also, by supposition, he was just on the point of realizing the sustained intention of so long a time; in a few months he would be in their midst. In all this we recognize no

grounds for writing, but rather possible excuses for not writing. But if they were his reasons for writing, why does he not say so? What would be more natural than this: "For a long time I have yearned to see you, for many reasons, and have even planned repeatedly to visit you and proclaim the Gospel in your midst. But thus far I have been hindered from coming, and being unable to address you in person, spurred on by a restless desire to advance your spiritual life, *I make bold to write to you and outline the Gospel* I would preach among you, as I preach it among other Gentiles." This might be "bold in part," but it would be honest, apostolic, and, above all, intelligible. For our part, we cannot see how it is possible to dispense with some such words as those in Italics, if what follows is to be set in any rational relation to what goes before. The writer (reviser, recensor, compiler, or editor) appears to have felt the need of some mediation between the Introduction and the Exposition, and accordingly he has thrown in the strange clause, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel." Certainly not! Who had ever suspected he was? But how does this axiom bridge the chasm between the expressed desire to see them and the dogmatism that follows? We cannot say. No wonder that acute critics suspect this οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι to be an interpolation. But in any case we stand in presence of this singular spectacle: A writer, addressing a body of strangers, declares he has long planned to see them, but in vain, being ready to preach the Gospel among them as elsewhere, a Gospel that is power divine for salvation through faith, and immediately launches into a denunciation of heathen vice. This is as if some stranger should enter a public assembly, announce himself in terms of weighty import, state that he had long wished to know them, and then without further ado proceed to deliver an elaborate address in great measure incomprehensible. Whatever its merits, the abruptness would certainly astonish and call forth questioning glances.

That we read these verses with so little feeling for the grotesqueness of the implied situation, is due both to the reigning prejudice and to the fact that we have long since ceased to think of this epistle as a real letter addressed by a living Paul to living strangers at Rome, and have come to regard it as what it really is, as a theological treatise for all Christendom, epistolary in form and in form only, the universal voice of the Christ-Spirit, speaking out from the timeless, spaceless, unconditioned "depths divine." It is only the critic whose sacred duty it is to ask: When, where, by whom, to whom, on what occasion, for what end, was this letter written? Thus far the accepted

answers of Tradition are: A.D. 58-59, near Corinth, by Paul, to the congregation at Rome; but the questions concerning *occasion* and *end* remain unanswerable. It is notorious that two generations of critics have applied themselves with unrelaxing zeal to the discussion of the composition of the Roman congregation, the circumstances that called forth the letter, and the object aimed at in writing it, — and all without any positive result whatever. What a splendid array of learning and abilities! What shining names of Baur, Schwegler, Straatman, Blom, Hofmann, Weizsäcker, Mangold, Klostermann, Holsten, Hausrath, Volkmar, Reuss, Pfeiderer, Weiss, Godet, Holtzmann, Scholten, Schürer, and many others! But what have they done? What do they still continue to do? Nothing but refute one another! Like the heroes in Valhalla, they are resistless in attack, but impotent in defence. We can hardly hope that keener acumen or ampler scholarship will ever be brought to bear on the problem in hand; since all these have failed to solve it, but have succeeded only in showing more and more clearly its apparent insolubility, we must in reason despair of any solution. The inextricable difficulties that entangle us are all given in our answers so complacently rendered as axioms: in A.D. 58-59, near Corinth, by Paul, to Romans. It would seem high time, then, to question even these, and when once the trial is fairly begun, the judgement will not linger.

So far, therefore, as we have now gone, the testimony lies heavily against the Roman address. Naturally we should here pass over to the 15th and 16th chapters, but a minute examination of these is not possible in this paper. Suffice it to promise that such an examination will reinforce the results already attained, mightily and at every point. Nor can the discussion be closed without similar scrutiny of the evidence furnished by Marcion and the Apostolic Fathers and the early Apologists; but this, too, must be postponed.

We must not, however, dismiss these opening verses without calling attention, in conclusion, to their amazing epitome of doctrine. All that Loman has said so forcibly anent the address of Galatians (*Natalenschap*, I. pp. 15-24) applies with added emphasis here and need not be repeated. Only imagine the astonishment of the "Romans" on receiving a letter with such an address as was never heard of before, of inordinate length, of impenetrable obscurity, dense with technical well-worn dogmatic phrases, unfamiliar yet used as if well-known and axiomatic, — a set of theological conundrums which no human divination has yet been able to solve. What must these simple-hearted, uncultured Christians have thought of all this self-

description? — They who had never before seen any other form of epistolary address than the unpretending

*Caius to Balbus : Greeting.*

Such an address, at that time, under those circumstances, seems to us a sheer impossibility. On the other hand, it is entirely natural, entirely self-explaining as a gradual deposit of the collective Christian consciousness, compacting itself generation after generation in watch-words and slogans attrite from the friction of centuries. Moreover, that it is *not a single unital consciousness* that here speaks to us, is evident in the two words *ἐλάβομεν* and *ὑμεῖς*. It appears almost psychologically impossible that a writer, beginning with the ancient form of address, in the *third person singular* (Παῦλος κ.τ.λ.), should pass over in the same address without any mediation to the *first person plural* (*we* have received). Much more, however, the introduction of the second person *you* (*ὑμεῖς*) at this stage (v.<sup>6</sup>), *without any antecedent whatever*, whereas the persons addressed are afterwards designated, according to usage, by the *third person* (v.<sup>7</sup>), would indicate incredible obfuscation in the mind of the apostle, or point unerringly to the interpolator. Can we imagine Paul dictating these words, as they now stand, to Tertius? Not unless we endow him with a multiple consciousness.

## West Semitic Deities with Compound Names.

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**A**FTER the early Semitic tribal life with its henotheism began to give way before those political combinations which united several tribes under one government, two distinct movements in the evolution of Semitic deities are discernible. The first of these is a movement in the direction of the multiplicity of gods, in the course of which a deity, already known by several epithets, is differentiated in different places (or at times in the same place), into as many different deities as the original god had epithets. This movement is exemplified in the very early development of the gods of Babylonia, and in the development in South Arabia during the period covered by the early inscriptions from that country.

The second of these movements is a much later one, if not in time, at least in the sequence of human thought, and is a current running in the opposite direction to the one just mentioned. Intercourse resulting from political or commercial unity led to the recognition of a larger unity of life, and in obedience to this recognition the number of deities was reduced, usually by a fusing process. In its early stages this process was practical and not at all philosophical. It resulted from the union of tribes or cities and the consequent identification of their gods; but in its later stages it became, as I hope to show, more philosophical. This second movement is illustrated in its mild beginnings in the religion of Babylonia, as Jastrow has shown,<sup>1</sup> but it finds its completest expression for the Semitic field among peoples in Palestine, Phoenicia, and the Phoenician colonies. It is the purpose of the present paper to pass the instances of it in brief review.

**1. Yahwe-Elohim.** — Biblical criticism has made very clear to us the process by which this combination of divine names was devel-

<sup>1</sup> *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, chs. iii.-xiv.

oped. Yahwe, the name given to their god by one group or tribe of Hebrews, was constantly employed by certain writers when they wished to refer to the deity. Elohim, a name used in another group or tribe, had in like manner been employed by another group of writers. When a later generation combined the writings, both names were combined in certain passages in order to make it clear that the Yahwe there mentioned was the same as the Elohim which had preceded.<sup>2</sup> This result of Biblical criticism is recalled, not with the idea of offering anything new on this name, but as a standard of comparison for the other divine names which are regarded as compound.

**2. Melek-Ashtart.** — This supposed compound name of a divinity occurs in an inscription of two lines from Um-el-Awamid, the site of an ancient city, as yet unidentified, about midway between Tyre and Acco (*CIS*, p. 29). The inscription is published in the *Corpus*, as No. 8, and has already, largely on account of the peculiar combination *Melek-Ashtart*, given rise to an abundant literature.<sup>3</sup> Most scholars have taken Melek-Ashtart as a peculiarly compounded deity, and have advanced more or less ingenious theories to account for her (or his) origin. The structure of the sentence in which the words occur is, however, difficult, and has caused no little trouble.

Levy long ago proposed to translate, "To the king of Ashtart, the god Hamman," etc., taking *Melek Ashtart* not as a compound name, but as a construct with a dependent genitive. He thought the words meant that Hamman was lord, or husband, of Ashtart. Such a usage of *melek* is, however, without parallel. If this were the construction of the sentence, Ashtart would have to be regarded as the name of a place. If only we had evidence from some other source that there was a place called Ashtart in this region, as there was east of the Jordan,<sup>4</sup> I should regard it as most probable that the unknown city which in ancient times stood on the site of Um-el-Awamid was Ashtart; and that Hamman was called "king of Ashtart," as in Tyre Baal was called Melqart, or "king of the city." As no Egyptian or Assyrian source gives us, so far as I am aware, any evidence for the

<sup>2</sup> As the name Yahwe-Elohim stands in the Massoretic text it is made to appear as a post-exilic product, based on the union of the late P document with JED. The identification of Yahwe with Elohim was certainly made, however, at least by the time J and E were combined, about 650 B.C. If the compound name was not actually made at that time, the idea which it represents was complete.

<sup>3</sup> See references in the *Corpus*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gen. 14<sup>6</sup> Josh. 13<sup>21</sup> and *A.B.* Vol. V, Nos. 142<sup>10</sup> and 237<sup>21</sup>, where it is mentioned in two of the El-Amarna letters.

existence of a town of this name in this region, we are shut up to the conclusion that it is the name of a compound deity.

But, it may be asked, is the deity really compounded of two? May not Ashtart be a goddess worshipped in Melek's temple?<sup>5</sup> Professor Moore has already suggested that this is the starting-point of this combination, and there is abundant analogy to show that he is right. As he has pointed out, the Ashtart in the Ma'sub inscription,<sup>6</sup> who was worshipped in the *ashera* of the god Hamman, represents an earlier stage of the same process. The two deities were really kindred in their origin, were associated together in the worship of the people, till, in obedience to the movement of thought outlined above, the two were welded into one. The inscription from Um-el-Awamid represents a much later stage of thought than the formation of the name Yahwe-Elohim, for it was apparently not political fusion but a more abstract process of thought which welded these two closely associated gods of opposite sex into one. Nevertheless, the inscription represents an early stage of the fusion, since the two names, the masculine and the feminine, are still employed to designate the one deity, which is demonstrated to be one by the fact that another epithet of the masculine portion, Hamman, is applied to the whole combination.

**3. Eshmun-Ashtart.**—Parallel to Melek-Ashtart is the Eshmun-Ashtart, of whom Abd-Melqart is said, in a votive inscription from North Africa, to have been a priest (*CIS.* No. 245). As I am pointing out elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> Eshmun and Ashtart were as closely related as Baal or Melek and Ashtart. They were evidently worshipped in the same temple and, under influences similar to those prevailing at Um-el-Awamid, were fused. If it be objected that in this case the fusion is not so evident, since it may be that the conjunction was omitted between the names, so that "Eshmun-Ashtart" is written for "Eshmun and Ashtart"; it may be answered, that in the first line of this short inscription (it comprises only four lines) Tanith and Baal Hamman are distinguished by the conjunction, so that the probability is that it is not forgotten here.

**4. Eshmun-Melqart.**—Several inscriptions from Cyprus (*CIS.* Nos. 16, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28) show that there by similar forces the gods Eshmun and Melqart were similarly fused. Melqart was

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Moore's article "Chemosh," *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 737 n.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Georg Hoffmann, *Ueber einige Phoen. Inschr.* p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> See "The Genesis of the God Eshmun," in *JAOs*, Vol. XXI.

the epithet of the Baal of Tyre, and so constantly used that it became his proper name. It signified "king of the city"; and, of course, if there had not been such constant relations between Tyre and Cyprus, it would be conceivable that it might be an epithet of Eshmun which grew up in Cyprus. The comparatively late date of these inscriptions, the proximity of Tyre, and the constant communication between the two render this view untenable. Baal and Eshmun were as closely akin as Ashtart and Eshmun<sup>8</sup>; Melqart was a Baal, and the fusion was a natural result of the tendency of the thought of the times.

5. **Askun-Adar.** — Another possible example of a compound deity is found in a Phoenician inscription from Athens (*CIS.* No. 118), where, if the two parts are really divine names, they are perhaps neither of them Phoenician. Askun, or Sakun, is a deity corresponding to the Greek Hermes; it may be an epithet of some Semitic deity, but is probably a foreign god (cf. *CIS.* No. 112), Adar being the Assyrian god. It is a moot point, however, whether *adar* is not here an epithet, meaning strong. (Cf. *CIS.* p. 145, and Bloch's *Phoen. Glossar*, p. 14.)

6. An extreme instance of the tendency to the fusion of deities in the later time is found in an inscription published by Lidzbarski in his *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, p. 67, which comes from the mountain wall near the hamlet of Karaburna or Karaburnar, and which Lidzbarski assigns to the second century B.C. It describes the marriage of the god Bel to the Persian religion or Dîn Mazdaïasniš, as it is called. This marriage, of course, does not represent the fusing of the two into one deity, but if two such unrelated faiths could be fused by marriage, what might not be done with closely related deities?

7. **Ashtar-Chemosh.** — One other divine name remains to be considered, which I have purposely left to the end, Ashtar-Chemosh (Mesha's Insc. l. 17). Baethgen,<sup>9</sup> Driver,<sup>10</sup> Moore,<sup>11</sup> and Peake<sup>12</sup> hold that it is not a compound name, but that it is a reference to the Ashtart or Astarte who was worshipped in the shrine of Chemosh. It may seem presumptuous to venture to differ from a group of

<sup>8</sup> See the paper cited in note <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> "Ashtoreth," in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 171 a.

<sup>11</sup> "Chemosh," in *Encyc. Bib.*

<sup>12</sup> "Chemosh," in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*.

authorities which contains, as this group does, three of the foremost Old Testament scholars of the world. I am constrained to do so, however, for the following reasons:

1. All the parallels urged by these scholars are much later. They represent movements of thought influenced by Persian or by Greek ideas. The combination Ashtar-Chemosh is much nearer both in time and place to Yahwe-Elohim, and is more likely to be parallel to it than to any other instance.

2. Ashtar in the inscription of Mesha lacks the feminine termination, and must therefore be considered a god and not a goddess. True, in primitive Semitic the name designated a goddess without the feminine ending; it is also true that in Babylonia and Assyria it continued to do so down to the latest times; but wherever the name has been found among the southern Semites it designates an actual or nascent god, and wherever it is found among the western Semites designating a goddess, it has the feminine ending. It is safe to conclude, therefore, since Moab was so closely connected with the rest of the west Semitic world, that the name without the feminine termination would in that country designate a god.

To break the force of this consideration one of two things must be clearly proven: either that the feminine ending was added to the name by the rest of the western Semites after the days of Mesha, or that its form in his inscription is due to Babylonian influence. The biblical and Phoenician material which contains the name is of course all later than Mesha, but it occurs as the name of a place twice in the El-Amarna letters (cf. *KB*. V. Nos. 142<sup>10</sup> and 237<sup>21</sup>), and in both cases refers to the well-known city only a little way north of Moab called in the Old Testament Ashtoreth-Karnaim.<sup>12</sup> It is clear from this fact that the western Semitic feeling had attached the feminine termination to the name of the goddess almost at the very borders of Moab by the fourteenth century B.C. So far as I can see, the only reason for suspecting Babylonian influence in Moab is the fact that Mount Nebo and a city Nebo bear the name of a Babylonian god. But even if that name be a survival from the previous Babylonian occupation, we know no reason for supposing that Babylonian influence so affected Moab that her people in consequence continued to call their goddess Ashtar for six hundred years after their nearest neighbors on the north had begun to call her Ashtart.

<sup>12</sup> For the identification of the localities mentioned in these two letters cf. Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 133 ff. and 152 ff.

3. Mesha equates Ashtar-Chemosh with Chemosh. He says (l. 14 ff.): "And Chemosh said to me, 'go and take Nebo against Israel,' and I went by night and fought against it from break of dawn till noon, and I took it and killed all of them, seven thousand men and boys, and the women and girls and slave-girls, for I had made them *harim* to Ashtar-Chemosh." Now it seems clear that the king would devote his victims to the god who sent him forth to battle,—the god who held, as the inscription shows throughout, a similar relation to Moab to that held by Yabweh to Israel. At the end of the inscription Chemosh appears again. Ashtar-Chemosh cannot, therefore, be different even in part from Chemosh. If, under the circumstances, he had desired to associate a goddess with Chemosh, he would hardly have placed her before him. The compound divine names into which Ashtar enters invariably place her last.

It is here that the analogy of the name Yahwe-Elohim comes to our aid. Ashtar had in Moab, like Athtar in South Arabia, become a god.<sup>14</sup> He was probably in the early days worshipped in Moab under this name at some particular shrine or shrines. At another, the same, or a kindred, deity was worshipped under the name Chemosh. By the time of Mesha the two had been identified as one god, as Yahwe-Elohim was in Israel. Perhaps Ashtar and Chemosh were the tutelary divinities of two tribes which were united in the nation Moab. Of this we cannot speak, as data are entirely wanting, but the genesis of the compound name would seem to be most reasonably explained by some such process.

It appears from this examination that the union of Yahwe and Elohim and of Ashtar and Chemosh, the two instances which clearly occurred before the influx of Persian and Greek thought into the west Semitic region, was probably due to different causes from those which produced the other instances of fusion. The former were produced by political union, while the latter were produced by more abstract processes of thought. The one class, therefore, cannot legitimately be used in explanation of the development of the other.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Hebraica*, Vol. X, pp. 52 ff. and 204.

## Supplementary Note on the Aorist *εὐδόκησα*, Mark i. 11.

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THE proper rendering of the Voice from heaven to Jesus at his baptism is of such fundamental importance that I feel justified in offering certain evidence additional to that adduced in my article on this subject in this JOURNAL, XVI. (1897) p. 136-139, and tending in the same direction; viz. that we should render, "Thou art my Son, the Beloved, upon thee (or *ἐν* *ὃν*, on whom) my choice hath fallen."

1. The treatment of *ὁ Ἀγαπητός* as appellative, "my Son, the Beloved," not merely "my beloved Son," was supported by the use of Is. 42<sup>1f</sup> in Matt. 12<sup>18</sup>, *Ἴδοὺ ὁ Παῖς μου ἐν ἡρέτις ὁ Ἀγαπητός μου ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου· θήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν*; and something was made of the appellative used by Paul in the epistle most largely occupied with apocalyptic christology, *ὁ Ἠγαπημένος* (Eph. 1<sup>6</sup>). Reference was also made to the appellative *ὁ Ἐκλεκτός* (Luke 9<sup>35</sup>), which alternates in the texts with *ὁ Ἀγαπητός*, and to 2 Pet. 1<sup>17</sup>, the Voice at the Transfiguration being clearly intended to convey the same sense as that at the Baptism.

I should have added the important variant in 2 Pet. 1<sup>17</sup>, accepted by Westcott-Hort and Weiss, *ὁ Υἱός μου, ὁ Ἀγαπητός μου*, where the appellative sense is unmistakable. It is unfortunate that the Revisers in this case should have seen fit to depart from their admirable guide in questions of text. They would in consistency have been obliged to use the capital letter, "my Beloved," as in Eph. 1<sup>6</sup>.

Perhaps it would have been more convincing if I had adduced the practice of the Christian writer who adds to the Ascension of Isaiah the Vision of Isaiah, an apocalypse closely related to that of 2 Thessalonians. This author's uniform and stereotyped designation for the Messiah is *Ἀγαπητός*, a title certainly not unconnected with Is. 42<sup>1f</sup>. This has since been better done than my knowledge would have

permitted by Canon J. Armitage Robinson, *s.v.* "Isaiah, Ascension of," in Hastings' *B.D.*, where early Christian use of the title in both forms, Ἀγαπητός and Ἡγαπημένος, is abundantly illustrated. Side by side with this very early Christian practice should be placed that of the unknown Enoch fragment quoted in Barnabas 4<sup>a</sup>, as well as the Ethiopic Enoch (cf. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, Introd. p. xxiii, and Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, note on En. 38<sup>a</sup> and 40<sup>b</sup>), one of whose favorite titles for the Messiah is ὁ Ἐκλεκτός, as in Luke 23<sup>33</sup>, ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ Ἐκλεκτός. This, as Charles informs us, is also based on Is. 42<sup>1</sup>.

We can hardly escape the conclusion that ὁ Ἀγαπητός and Ἡγαπημένος, ὁ Ἐκλεκτός, and Ἐκλελεγμένος applied to Christ in the New Testament are appellatives, technical designations of the Messiah, and should in all cases receive the capital initial, as in Eph. 1<sup>6</sup>.

2. The use of εὐδοκῶν in some cases, if not the majority, to signify the gracious *placuit* of God, was also shown. The particular application was to the adoption of those whom God makes his sons, a "choice" not to be explained by any other consideration than his sovereign purpose of grace antedating the creation itself.

That such is the sense of εὐδοκία in the fundamental passage Eph. 1<sup>4-9</sup> I endeavored, perhaps inadequately, to show, connecting with this passage (the same in which Christ is designated ὁ Ἡγαπημένος) Luke 2<sup>14</sup> ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας αὐτοῦ.

Paul's doxology in Eph. 1<sup>4ff.</sup> is for the gracious εὐδοκία of God who chose us in Christ (made us ἐκλεκτοί as he is the Ἐκλεκτός)<sup>2</sup> before the foundation of the world (cf. Luke 10<sup>20</sup> Heb. 12<sup>23</sup> Rev. 21<sup>27</sup>); for he foreordained us unto an adoption to himself as sons through Jesus Christ according to his εὐδοκία in the grace wherewith he accepted us in the person of the Ἡγαπημένος. I do not think that the collocation of these terms εὐδοκία and Ἡγαπημένος employed in the Voice from heaven to Jesus in the Baptismal Vision, and repeated in Eph. 1<sup>4-9</sup>, can be accidental. Paul is simply applying the doctrine of the foreordination (preëxistence) of Messiah and his people to that

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that the writer (Luke) who employs all these Isaian technical designations of Messiah, ὁ Ἀγαπητός, ὁ Ἐκλελεγμένος, ὁ Ἐκλεκτός, ὁ Παῖς θεοῦ (Acts 3<sup>18, 26</sup> 4<sup>27, 31</sup>) agrees also with Enoch in using the title ὁ Δίκαιος (Acts 3<sup>14</sup> 22<sup>11</sup>) and is of all New Testament writers most eager to connect the career of Jesus with fulfilment of the prophecies of Isaiah.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in Enoch we are called by Professor Charles to "observe that as the members of the kingdom are 'The righteous,' so the Messiah is 'The Righteous One'; cf. 'The elect,' 'The Elect One'" (Charles, *Enoch*, p. 112). Cf. Barn. 3<sup>6</sup> ὁ λαὸς ὃν ἡτοίμασεν ἐν τῷ Ἡγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ with Eph. 1<sup>9</sup>.

narrative of the gospel. God chose (εἰδόκῃσεν) Christ <sup>1</sup>, the Beloved, before the foundation of the world.<sup>3</sup> But he chose us Jews and Gentiles together, as a περιποίησις, a *νόθεσις* in him. We ἐκλεκτοί, who were chosen and preordained by God together with his Ἐκλεκτός, whose names are written in his register of citizenship kept in heaven, are the ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας as he is the ἄνθρωπος εὐδοκίας. Hence the ordinary rendering of Mark 1<sup>1</sup>, which I gave in Professor Gould's language: "The aorist εἰδόκησα [in Mark 1<sup>1</sup>], *I came to take pleasure*, denotes the historical process by which God came to take pleasure in Jesus during his earthly life," is misleading. If we bring to bear Eph. 1<sup>4-5</sup>, we shall see that Professor Gould's statement must be inverted. The aorist εἰδόκησα, *I chose*, denotes the *prehistoric decree* of God (τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ), "the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus" (Eph. 3<sup>11</sup>), foreordaining us as an adoption of sons to himself in the person of Jesus Christ (Eph. 1<sup>6</sup>).

I feel justified in making this fuller development of my former very brief mention of Paul's reference to the εὐδοκία manifested in the ἡγαπημένος, because I have now an item of textual evidence to add, on the question whether εἰδόκησα should be rendered "have chosen" or "came to take pleasure." The β text of Acts 9<sup>23</sup> adds after the words συμβιβάζων ὅτι οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός the relative clause εἰς ὃν ὁ θεὸς εἰδόκησεν. Shall we translate "proving that this is the Christ in whom God came to take pleasure"? or "the Christ whom God elected"?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Rabbinic teaching "The soul of Messiah is laid up in Paradise from the beginning of creation," and the like.

## The Opportunity of the American School of Archaeology in Palestine.

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GOING to the Orient for the double purpose of studying the Arabic language and of seeing whether further archaeological research in Palestine would pay, in view of the many able explorers who have already been in the field and in view of the continuous labors of the British Palestine Exploration Fund during the past thirty-five years, you may imagine my surprise to find that, with the exception of Jerusalem, a small section of Tell el Hesi and the four unimportant sites worked during the past two years, scarcely anything has been done. Fully ninety-five per cent of the work remains to be accomplished by the enterprise of the future.

My time was spent partly in residence in Jerusalem and on Carmel, and partly in various rather hasty journeys in Syria and Palestine, which afforded me, however, an opportunity for some observations and for coming to some conclusions on the subject of the practicability of future excavations.

I journeyed along the Maritime Plain from Gaza to Sidon. The mountain ridge which extends along the whole length of Palestine I traversed from Ma'in (Maon), south of Hebron, to Mount Gilboa. Of the Valley of the Jordan I visited about two-thirds, and made a tour through Gilead and Moab, beginning at the Yarmuk and ending at Medeba. I made also a trip from the Sharon Valley up the Wady 'Arah to Tell el Mutasellim, supposed to be the Valley of Megiddo, and I travelled the whole length of the Valley of Esdraelon several times. In addition to these trips I made several excursions across the hills of Galilee and in Syria.

Perhaps I should add that I was with Dr. Bliss during the excavation of Tell Zakariya (Azekah), and that Sir Charles Wilson very kindly accompanied me to the site of ancient Samaria, and we examined it together. General Wilson is the only person of whom I have ever

heard who has made any attempt at the excavation of this important and ancient site ; but, according to his own statement, he did only so much as was necessary to determine what the successive occupations were.

I was three times at Samaria, three times at Beisan or Beth Shan (the Roman Scythopolis) ; twice I was at Caesarea, twice at Hebron, and some four times in the Jordan Valley.

During these journeys I was grieved to see the large amount of destruction that had been done in recent years and still continues. Architecture, tombs, and monuments—all are suffering irreparable injury at the hands of stone-quarriers on the one hand, and of treasure seekers on the other. It is easier to dig hewn stones from the ruins than to quarry them, and, as long as tourists will buy, dealers who encourage the robbery of ancient tombs will not be wanting. These dealers are natives and know more about the country than Europeans, and the mischief being done at the present time is enormous. Rifling of tombs is now going on at Haifa (Rom. Sicaminum), Tyre, Shefa 'Amr, at Beit Jibrin (Rom. Eleutheropolis), in the Hauran, and at fifty other points. Quarrying for stone has been for years a profitable industry for the Bosnian colony at Caesarea. At Beisan I myself saw the beautiful Khan el Ahmar, the best preserved Saracenic khan in the whole of Syria and Palestine, being pulled to pieces to supply stone for the roadbed of the proposed Haifa-Damascus railroad. At Jerash (Gerasa) and Ammân (Rabbath Ammon, Rom. Philadelphia), across the Jordan two Circassian Mohammedan colonies have well-nigh destroyed the whole of the latter ruin and are making rapid progress with the former. When it is understood that Jerash contains one of the most complete series of Roman ruins in the world,—two theatres almost perfect, several temples, a forum surrounded by columns and containing a bema, an almost perfect street of columns, a practically perfect *naumachia*, baths, a triumphal arch, and many other ancient structures of more or less importance,—it will be seen how serious this matter is, and why the work of excavation not only needs to be done, but to be done quickly.

During all my travels I had especially in mind possible excavations, and my conclusion was that, in spite of the fact that only two really important Hebrew inscriptions have thus far been discovered, the land is rich in promise to historians, archaeologists, and Biblical students. No other country of which I know can offer so long a series of radical historic changes. Arranged in periods they would be :

1st, Hittite, Amorite, and Egyptian, and possibly early Babylonian traces; 2d, Phoenician; 3d, Jewish; 4th, Persian; 5th, Greek; 6th, Roman (abundant); 7th, Byzantine (abundant); 8th, Kufic; 9th, Crusader; 10th, Saracenic; and, east of the Jordan, may be added to all these Moabite, Ammonite, and Nabatæan.

Perhaps I ought also to mention the prehistoric period of rude stone monuments. Of these I had the good fortune to find two of which I have seen no mention, and possibly a third of considerable interest. One was on Jebel Osha', on the road leading from Salt to Nablous, a fine stone circle; another is on the road between Ras el Abyad and Tyre, a dolmen whose table stone lies beside it; and a third may prove to be the veritable circle used by the priests of Baal at the Mahraka on Mount Carmel.

Of the various periods I have mentioned, architectural monuments, tombs, rock-cuttings, roads, and coins are to be found in various parts of the country on the surface, and most of these have been described by travellers and by the surveyors employed by the Palestine Exploration Fund of England, as well as by French and American expeditions. If what they state is accepted as true, what may we not expect to find in the future, when almost the whole work of excavation remains to be done? The country east and west of the Jordan contains literally hundreds of *tells* and promising ruins, of which only four or five have thus far been, in any way, examined. Follow any of the great plains or valleys, and you will be confronted by a continuous series of *tells*, or great artificial mounds. Follow any of the rocky ridges, and you will not fail to encounter ruins in equal abundance. Among all these are the sites of cities of the highest importance to science — the cities of the Philistine plain, Samaria, Beth Shan, Jericho, Heshbon, and many others of nearly equal celebrity. I know of no part of the Trans-Jordan country (whose surface has been so admirably described in *East of the Jordan*, by our own Selah Merrill) that has been excavated, and yet here was found the Mesha Stone! It is thrilling to examine such sites as Heshbon, Elealeh, and Medeba, and to realize that underneath the present Roman and Byzantine ruins must lie countless objects of antiquarian value, and, in all probability, many inscriptions which would shed a flood of light on many vexed questions of history and of the Bible.

The evidence already in hand, the Mesha Stone, the Siloam inscription, and the large number of jar handles with inscriptions recently found by Bliss certainly point in the direction of greater

treasures beneath the surface, while the Tell el Amarna tablets and the one tablet found at Lachish, together with the evidences from the Euphrates and the Nile, justify us in expecting to find many evidences of a higher pre-Abrahamic civilization than has, until recently, been suspected in this part of the ancient world. The well-intentioned but unfortunate opinion of some supporters of archaeological research that the results would not justify the expenditure is, in my opinion, due mainly to the fact that in Palestine very little thorough work has as yet been done. I frankly think those who hold this opinion mistaken; and I am reminded by them of the judgment of the great explorer Layard who, after what in these days would be called some superficial excavation at Nippur, in the early fifties, without finding anything but a few late terra-cotta coffins (Sassanian), concludes:<sup>1</sup> "On the whole I am much inclined to question whether extensive excavations carried on at Niffer would produce any very important or interesting results." Thus England lost not only the credit of the discoveries at Nippur but also the tablets that have since been found there.

When you add to the reasons already given for excavations in Palestine on an adequate scale the fact that this is the land of the Bible, in which not only scientists and antiquarians are interested, but in which all bodies of Christians and Jews have a still greater interest, the inducement to do something worthy of the object becomes very strong; and the chief source of wonder is that, while so many are more than pleased to help on the splendid achievements in Babylonia and Egypt, so few should be willing to contribute, in an adequate manner, to what, it will be admitted, is a work of at least equal importance.

It is my opinion that the excavation of Palestine remains to be accomplished by Americans, and I live in hope that the money which, in our progressive country, always lies ready to promote any cause that is shown to be worthy will be supplied in sufficient quantities to meet this great and pressing need.

With a self-sacrifice which few of us realize the gentlemen appointed by the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis last year have devoted themselves to the establishment of a school for Oriental study and research in Jerusalem, the first school of the kind established by any country in the East; but, after great efforts, their work has as yet been crowned only with partial success.

<sup>1</sup> *Babylon and Nineveh*, 1853, p. 477.

Such a school, above all things, must carry on excavations, and these cannot be carried on without money. We cannot here, as was the case with Germany and France in the excavations at Olympia and Delphi, expect government aid. We must rely entirely on the liberality of private contributors, and, for the raising of an endowment of about \$200,000, it will be seen how great that liberality must necessarily be. Such a sum, if given, would soon yield results which would astonish those who, with but little knowledge of the facts, imagine that nothing remains for the explorer in Palestine.

But even in surface exploration all has not yet been done; there is much which has been overlooked. New inscriptions are being constantly found, one quite recently at so well known a place as the Haram Ramet el Khalil, near Hebron. In Sidon I found that the American missionaries, in digging for foundations for their new Industrial School, had excavated, in addition to vases, glass, and some marbles of the Greek and Roman periods, four curious "bulls," whose workmanship and type prove them to be Persian, and exactly similar to the bull-capitals surmounting the sixty pillars of the throne room or hypostyle hall of the palace of Artaxerxes, at Susa, of which one may be seen at the Louvre. Dr. Murray, of the British Museum, also pointed out to me a Greek modification of the bull-type capital from Cyprus. In these capitals the bulls crouch in pairs and back to back.

The importance of this discovery, and such it is considered by both Clermont Ganneau and Sir Charles Wilson, lies in the fact that the American Industrial School is built on the site of what was, in all probability, the Persian satrap's palace during the time of the Persian domination in Western Asia. It indicates the point from which Syria and Palestine were governed during that period, and thus sheds important light on the relations of the returned Israelites to their Persian masters.

In my trip beyond Jordan I took the road over the mountain leading from Pella to Ajlun, after having ascended the Yarmuk (Rom. Hieromax) to Umm Keis (Gadara), then along the east side of the Jordan Valley to Pella, from which place we proceeded over the mountains to Ajlun. On this road I found six uninscribed Roman milestones, which Dr. Merrill told me he had not seen, though he had found other proofs of the Roman road from Pella to Jerash mentioned by Josephus. Thus Dr. Merrill is shown to be correct in spite of the doubts of Le Strange and others. A little side trip on the road from Salt to Ammán brought me to a place called

Yajuz. Here, on the road to Ammân, lie four inscribed fragments of Roman milestones which I do not think have been described. I found time to obtain a good copy of only one of them, but I called the attention of Père Lagrange, head of the Dominicans at Jerusalem, to the existence of the stones, and he will no doubt look after them.

At Ka'at er Rubud, near Ajlun, I found a pointed arch which, I think, proves the building to be, at least in part, Crusader. At one end is a fighting-cock, and at the other are two such birds in active operation, both carved in relief. Perhaps some one can tell me whether such designs occur on Saracenic architecture. I noted also here and at Kokeb el Howa, on the west side of the Jordan, that the remarkable rock-cut fosse is weather-worn and much older than the stones of the castles. The sides look as if the rock had been cut thousands of years ago.

There is no more interesting object to the Oriental traveller than the ruin called Mashita, lying on the edge of the desert southeast of Ammân, and discovered by Tristram in 1871. It has been pronounced Persian by Fergusson, and with him the Germans and many other archaeologists, who declare the building Sassanian, appear to agree. The chief difficulty with this view is that a sufficient motive for the erection of such a building in such a place by the Persians cannot be found. Thus the mystery attaching to this superb piece of architecture is far from being cleared up. During my recent visit I discovered what may possibly prove an additional clue to its identity. Something like a half-mile to the northwest of the ruins there is a low hill which rises a little above the long line of plateau running north and south which here ends. On this hill there are numerous signs of former occupation and in its interior are many caverns of considerable size. I found also a long and deep cistern. When standing on this hill overlooking the desert, I pointed in the direction of the ruins which were in full view, and said to the Beni Sahr sheikh who accompanied me, "Over there is Mashita." He at once answered: "No! This on which we stand is Mashita; that is the khan." When it is remembered that the Damascus Hajj road passes close by both the hill and the ruins, that Mashita means "shelter" or "winter quarter," and that the Amawee and Abbasside khaleefehs did many things to alleviate the hardships of the Mecca pilgrims, and that not only the influence of Greek, but of Persian artists also, determined the early Arab architecture, it will be seen that the splendid ruin may be an unfinished attempt at an elaborate building to accommodate the Mecca pilgrims.

This, then, is the field, together with a few of my hasty observations. Now, what may be expected from further excavations? In other words, will it pay to expend further energy and money on this land? Does the work need to be done?

Leaving aside entirely the benefits which will accrue to students at the new Oriental School from practical work and knowledge of modern methods of excavation, I think it may be answered: "Yes; excavations will pay, and pay well, in results added to the sum of knowledge." There is no other country which has had so interesting a series of occupations. As the highway of Oriental nations, it has peculiar interest for the historian, who, in the buried cities of the Maritime Plain, may look for materials to furnish the missing links that will connect the eastern and the western worlds; while, in places like Beisan and the tells of the Jordan Valley, he may expect a flood of light on that pre-Abrahamic civilization of which we have hints in Sacred Writ. Excavation will repay the philologist, who may expect to find inscriptions which will considerably augment palaeography, and will supply some links that are wanting in our knowledge of the Phoenician language. It will repay the topographer by settling disputed and unknown sites. It will repay biblical students by throwing a new light on the meaning of many statements of Scripture. And, lastly, it will repay Christian and Jewish believers by placing on a scientific basis a large number of the statements contained in the books which furnish the historic basis of their faith.

## Baldensperger's Theory of the Origin of the Fourth Gospel.

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WHILE the work in which Baldensperger promulgates his theory is entitled *The Prologue of the Fourth Gospel*,<sup>1</sup> it contains a discussion of the historical situation supposed to be revealed by the whole Gospel. Baldensperger begins by declaring that thus far criticism has penetrated but little beneath the surface of the prologue. Exegetes have too often read their own thoughts into the text under the pretence that the ideal content in this Gospel is the chief thing. The Fourth Gospel is neither a dogmatic treatise nor a history, but is a polemic-apologetic work.

Taking the prologue as a whole, it presents a double difficulty; namely, that of discovering, first, the exact original significance of the affirmations relative to the Logos and his activities, and, second, the purpose of the interwoven passages concerning John the Baptizer, and their relation to the entire context. With reference to the first difficulty, Baldensperger holds that down to v.<sup>14</sup> the prologue relates alone to the *Logos asarkos*; with reference to the second, that the John passages are at once a polemic against a party which, by setting John the Baptizer up as a rival of Jesus for Messianic reverence, was interfering with the congregation of which the author of the Fourth Gospel was the head, and a defence of the superior Messianic claims of Jesus. He attempts to displace the formal parallelism of the prologue and to establish a material one which consists in a minute contrast between Jesus and the Baptizer, the result of which is to exhibit Jesus as preëxistent, and hence prior to John, and as in every way John's superior, both previous and subsequent to the

<sup>1</sup> *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums: sein polemisch-apologetischer Zweck.* Von W. Baldensperger, Professor an der Universität Giessen. Freiburg i. B. J. C. B. Mohr, 1898.

incarnation. John himself is drawn upon as a chief witness to these things.

Passing to the body of the Gospel, Baldensperger affirms that its chief purpose is the same as that of the prologue; namely, to exalt Jesus, and to remand John to his true place of inferiority. Even John's work of baptizing is but incidentally mentioned; the chief thing is his relation of witness to Jesus. The very piling up of the expressions in v.<sup>30</sup> cannot be explained except on the theory that there were those who asserted what the Baptizer is here made to deny. Again, the evangelist is not content with the Synoptic contrast between Spirit and water baptism, but brings forward the significance of the blood of Jesus. The narrative concerning the turning of the water into wine is significant also, since wine is only another name for blood, as is seen in the Lord's Supper. The shedding of the blood of Jesus puts an end to all the washings and baptisms of the sect of John the Baptizer. The evangelist even goes so far as to minify the significance of water baptism for the origin of Christianity. The manner in which the baptism of Jesus is described in the Fourth Gospel is significant also — the Baptizer did not even know what he was doing, or rather whom he was baptizing, when he baptized Jesus. Then the evangelist makes the Spirit to abide upon Jesus and to be a mark of distinction among Christians as compared with others; *e.g.* John 3<sup>3</sup>, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." The words (3<sup>13</sup>), "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man," have reference to such as believe that some other than Jesus ascended into heaven, and this other was the Baptizer, since he was taken for Elijah. The evangelist does not mention the embassy from the Baptizer to Jesus, since the chief witness for Jesus must not be allowed to doubt his Messiahship. The evangelist also (3<sup>31</sup>) contrasts John, as of the earth earthy, with Jesus, who comes from heaven, and is therefore above all. Other evidences of this polemic-apologetic purpose in the body of the Gospel are found in 5<sup>31 f.</sup> 10<sup>40 f.</sup> That other large portions of the Gospel, such as the miracles, the disputes with the Jews, the conversation with the Samaritan woman, the farewell address, and the history of the passion, seem not directly to bear upon the chief purpose, is accounted for by the admission that there were other subordinate purposes in the mind of the evangelist. Besides, the followers of the Baptizer returned gradually to the Synagogue, and hence even the recognizable anti-Jewish tendency of the Gospel indicates a measure of opposition to the

Johannites. Finally, attention is called to the fact that even 20<sup>th</sup> contains a hint (namely, the emphatic ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστίν) that Jesus, and not some other, is the Christ.

Proceeding with his argument, Baldensperger finds unmistakable evidences of a party of John's followers outside these limits of the Gospel itself. Among the most important is the passage, Acts 18<sup>24-19</sup>, which he thinks can be interpreted without the aid of the redactor and the interpolator. The difficulty with 18<sup>25</sup>, that Apollos, who knew only the baptism of John, taught accurately (ἀκριβῶς) the things concerning Jesus, he obviates by the supposition that by this time the Christians employed ὁ Ἰησοῦς and ὁ Χριστός interchangeably for the Messiah; and that, consequently, τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ does not here refer to Jesus as a personality, but as the Messiah. Baldensperger supposes that Apollos, after receiving instruction from Priscilla and Aquila, preached no longer in Ephesus; but that his conversion was his motive for leaving his previous field of labor and going to Corinth. Paul was not unacquainted with the Johannites, as has been supposed; and being, like Apollos, a zealous Messianist, the converts of Apollos attended his ministry, and thus he did for them just what Priscilla and Aquila had done for Apollos. All this shows that the Messianism preached by the Baptizer had spread to Alexandria and Asia Minor, and perhaps to other populous commercial and educational centres.

This he supports by the claim that in the earlier years of the second half of the first century there was no great conflict of interests between the disciples of John and those of Jesus. All were alike recruited from those who were ardent Messianists. Both Paul and Apollos created sentiment in favor of the kingdom of God, the things of Jesus. As compared with other Jews they felt themselves brothers. The later bitterness of the Johannites toward the followers of Jesus arose from the fact that so many of the former joined the ranks of the latter. The patristic notices to the effect that the origin of the Fourth Gospel is due to the initiative, not alone of its author, but of others, are to be credited. This shows that they thought such a Gospel ought to be published; and the ground for this is to be seen, not in any differences between the synoptists and the Fourth Gospel, but in the evident disturbances within the Church betrayed by the Johannine epistles. The Gospel itself bears witness to these same disturbances, since 21<sup>24</sup> does not lay the emphasis upon the authorship but upon the truthfulness of the contents of the Gospel. Besides, the evangelist emphasizes peace, love, and faithfulness in Christian

profession. Hence the author of the Gospel, needing the support of the name of John the Apostle, appealed to him for the correctness of his utterances. Besides these hints of a sect of John's followers Baldensperger finds others in the post-apostolic literature, chiefly Justin Martyr. So that he thinks that he has proved the demand for a Gospel whose purpose should be to conduct a polemic against the Johannites and an apologetic in favor of Jesus.

This is a very general, and in many respects inadequate, summary of an argument which is really ingenious and strong. In the attempt to estimate the validity of the conclusions reached the descent into particulars will be to some extent necessary.

It must be said that Baldensperger is not altogether original in holding these views of the Fourth Gospel. Godet,<sup>2</sup> in particular, brings out many of the same positions, though with much less fulness, and with far different implications from those of Baldensperger. For example, Baldensperger holds that John's doctrine of the redeeming death of Christ is so much emphasized because the Jews, to whom by this time the Johannites had practically gone over, declared that the Christ should abide for ever. Hence it was necessary to represent the death of Jesus as the greatest sign of God's love, as the noblest fact of his earthly history, and as freely submitted to by our Lord. Again, he maintains that the real ground for bringing forward the doctrine that Jesus was the eternal Logos, the only and true Son of God, was to meet the fact that the Synoptists' doctrine of the supernatural conception no longer answered the purpose. So also the doctrine that, except one eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, he can have no life in him, was intended to oppose the ascetic tendency among the Johannites which made flesh so abhorrent to them.

Many of the peculiarities of the Gospel are introduced to oppose the Johannites; *e.g.* the well of Jacob and the pools of Bethesda and Siloam are introduced because the disciples of John, with their water theology, prized certain springs and bodies of water to which they ascribed virtue. But Jesus was greater than all these natural waters. Also the use of the name Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is accounted for on the ground that the contest was really one between Jesus and John, each of whom was regarded as the Christ by his followers.

It may not be justifiable to have regard to consequences when we

<sup>2</sup> *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, translated from the third French edition by Timothy Dwight. New York, Funk & Wagnalls, 1886, vol. I. p. 214 and p. 256.

are estimating a question of fact; and yet, when the implications of an argument cannot be brought into harmony with other well-known facts, it is certainly proper to question the argument from which these implications arise. Such is the case here. Paul had essentially the same conceptions of the person of Christ which the Fourth Gospel gives us, as also of the place of the blood of Christ and the Holy Spirit in theology, yet even Baldensperger does not claim that Paul put his theology as he did in order to combat the sect of the Johannites.

In his *Vorwort* Baldensperger says that any one who will really shake the results reached in his book must exterminate the very roots of his investigation which reach back into the prologue, and propound a better interpretation of its entire eighteen verses. But to shake his results it is not necessary to give a better interpretation, but only to exterminate his roots.

Baldensperger's contention that the first thirteen verses refer to the *Logos asarkos* need not be considered. Attention need be called only to the main thesis of his work; namely, that the Fourth Gospel is a polemic-apologetic composed because the followers of John the Baptist were making inroads upon the author's Christian congregation.

Baldensperger says that v.<sup>1</sup> and v.<sup>6</sup> of the prologue furnish three contrasts between the Logos and John.

1. The  $\eta\upsilon$  of v.<sup>1</sup> is in contrast with the  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron$  of v.<sup>6</sup>, the former suited to the Logos who was in the beginning, the latter to John who appeared in time. Accordingly, the Logos is called  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , while John is called  $\alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ .

The most that can be admitted with reference to this first contrast is that it is not an impossible construction of the words. The significance of the verbs in these verses, especially in v.<sup>6</sup>, is not absolutely determinable, and  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron$  may be taken as meaning essentially the same as  $\eta\upsilon$ . Probably  $\alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$  lends itself more easily to Baldensperger's interpretation than  $\alpha\upsilon\eta\rho$ , but in 3<sup>1</sup> we have  $\eta\upsilon$  δὲ  $\alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ , spoken of Nicodemus, which could not have been, if the Fourth Gospel uses  $\eta\upsilon$  to signify the eternal existence, and  $\alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron$  to mark the creature as distinguished from the Creator.

2. John was  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon$ , while the Logos was  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  τὸν  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ . From this he concludes that, contrary to all other instances, John's being sent from God is not designed to mark a high distinction. He anticipates the objection that Christ is often said in the Fourth Gospel to be sent by God, and says that this language was employed concerning Christ as an argument against the Jews, but that when

compared with *πρὸς τὸν θεόν* it indicates an inferiority. But if the polemic against the disciples is so decisive of the form and contents of the Gospel, and if *παρά* and *πρός* are purposefully contrasted, it is improbable that as acute a debater as Baldensperger thinks the author of the Fourth Gospel to be would have so far forgotten himself as to speak of Christ even once, much less with frequency, in the same terms he had used of John; especially since, if the language noted a superiority of Jesus to John, it, or some modification of it, could surely have been employed to indicate to an ordinary Jew the lofty nature of Jesus.

3. The Logos is called God, while this *ἄνθρωπος* is called John; that is, one to whom or in whom God shows his grace and kindness. Baldensperger thinks the formula *ὄνομα αὐτῷ* shows that the name John had a profound significance for the evangelist. But if this reasoning be correct, then the evangelist must have had in mind the hidden significance of the name Nicodemus, for he uses the same formula in connection with that worthy. In fact, it is difficult to think of the evangelist as playing thus upon words. The name of the Logos is not *θεός*, but the Logos *is* *θεός*. Had the evangelist wished to contrast *Ἰωάννης* and *θεός*, he would have omitted the formula *ὄνομα αὐτῷ* before *Ἰωάννης*, and he would have said the *Λόγος* is God, and the *ἄνθρωπος* is John.

In general, it may be said of all these alleged contrasts that, if they had been intended as such for argument's sake, they would have been made much more evident than they can be made even by the skill of a Baldensperger. On the other hand, if we omit the specific contrasts, forsake the idea of a polemic-apologetic, and think of the evangelist as simply portraying what he believed to be facts as a means of getting started in his history, we can readily understand that there was in his mind the antithesis between the *Λόγος* and every *ἄνθρωπος*.

It is time to pass on to v.<sup>8</sup>, which Baldensperger thinks must banish every doubt of the evangelist's purpose to contrast the Baptizer with the Logos. He says the evangelist could not have written *οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός*, except to contest a contrary assertion.

One might acknowledge the truth of this opinion without admitting the thesis that the chief end of the prologue and Gospel is to combat the disciples of John. In a time like that in which the Fourth Gospel must have arisen it might have been highly desirable as a mere matter of correct information to note that John was not himself the Light, but that his function was to bear witness to the Light.

The most serious objection to *this* understanding of the verse is that the words *ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τοῦ φωτός* are an exact repetition of a part of v.<sup>7</sup>. That they should be repeated may be indicative of an intention to emphasize them. It is possible that the presence of these words in the two consecutive verses is due to a mistake of a copyist. If this suggestion has any value, it robs Baldensperger's construction of the verse of its chief significance.

Another thought may or may not have value in this connection. It is that v.<sup>8</sup> is not to be taken as the utterance of the evangelist but as an indirect quotation from the Baptizer giving the substance of his own conception of himself and of his mission. To this there appear to be no insuperable objections, and v.<sup>9</sup> might be included under the same view. If this is allowable, Baldensperger's inference would be weakened, if not rendered impossible.

But, entirely apart from these suggestions, the verse does not have the polemic character Baldensperger attaches to it. In any event the verse brings out only a little more forcibly than v.<sup>7</sup> the fact of John's function of witnessing to Christ. And it is a mistake in Baldensperger to see in this function a belittlement of the Baptizer, for the Fourth Gospel, which is so full of the idea of witnessing, makes Jesus declare that both his works and the Father bear witness concerning him. These are not belittled thereby, even in comparison with Christ himself.

It is not necessary to hold that this verse is a sort of echo of Luke 3<sup>15</sup>; but it seems evident that the evangelist is here trying in his way to say what the Synoptists say in their way, when they make John the preparer of the way of the Lord. When the Fourth Gospel makes John the witnesser to Jesus, the emphasis is not on that fact but on the purpose of his testimony, namely, that all might believe through him.

Nor is there anything in the language employed to indicate that in vv.<sup>7-8</sup> the testimony was to result in making men believers specifically in Jesus as the eternal Word. This may have been included in the evangelist's thought; but the great point was that through John's testimony men were to be led to believe. The verb is without any object or dependent clause, as so often in Acts, and in the epistles of Paul. It is used in the same way in at least two other places in this Gospel (6<sup>44</sup><sup>(twice)</sup> and 11<sup>15</sup>). Indeed, the Fourth Gospel brings out much more clearly than the Synoptists this preparatory work of John, furnishing the only instances of disciples of John who became disciples of Jesus, while in the Synoptists it seems almost as though the

work of Jesus were actually in no wise influenced by the work of John. The witnessing of John is not introduced in order to bring out the contrast between the witnesser and the one to whom he witnesses, nor to prove that the Logos was *θεός*, but to connect the work of John with the work of Jesus—to state what the writer understood to be the facts.

Baldensperger claims that the negatives of the prologue cannot be understood except as polemics against a position which it opposes, and that the negative in v.<sup>8</sup> is one of the most decisive evidences for his contention. But if it be construed as an indirect quotation from John, it has none of the force which Baldensperger gives it. However, even if the words be taken as those of the evangelist, they need not bear a strongly polemic significance; for negatives are employed for purposes of exact definition and limitation as well as to note antagonisms. And so they are employed in the Fourth Gospel, the peculiarity of which, in comparison with the Synoptists, is, not so much a different content as a stronger emphasis on certain contents common to it and them. This is to be accounted for, not on the ground of any immediate controversy, but by the fact that time had developed many controversies and misunderstandings which made sharper definition and discrimination necessary. Hence, if the words, "He was not the Light," are the words of the evangelist, they are designed to define more exactly the person who was the Light by declaring that John was not the Light. This presupposes that some had thought John was the Light, but not necessarily that the evangelist was conducting a lengthy polemic against them.

Turning to the body of the Gospel, it becomes constantly more evident that Baldensperger's thesis is untrue, namely, that "the Fourth Gospel is, from beginning to end, a well-considered system for the glorification of Christ, in which the Baptizer is belittled." The antithesis between Jesus and John is, according to Baldensperger's own admission, less marked in the body of the Gospel than in the prologue and the early chapters. Baldensperger is obliged to resort to more far-fetched exegesis in the body of the Gospel than in the prologue to make out his case. When a controversy has reached the acute stage which the theory in question supposes, the antagonists do not employ arguments which are so obscure that they require the aid of Baldensperger's powerful microscope to discover some faint sign of their presence. Under such circumstances men do not veil their meaning. But in the Fourth Gospel,

especially the larger part of it, a labored exegesis is demanded in order to elicit any evidence for the alleged controversy.

Besides, Baldensperger is obliged, in order to make out his case, to represent the author of the Fourth Gospel as a shrewd and not altogether conscientious partisan of Jesus. Because the general public attributed Messiahship to him who baptized, the evangelist was obliged to help himself out of the difficulty that John did really baptize by a systematic "*depotenzirung*" of the baptism of John. This is but one of several instances in which the evangelist is represented as perverting the facts to suit his supposed purposes. In fact, the systematic twisting and squirming attributed to the evangelist is visible only on Baldensperger's interpretation, which the exigencies of his thesis demand. *E.g.* there is no evidence that the work of baptizing was regarded as Messianic by the public except in such a passage as John 1<sup>25</sup>. But this indicates that they not only expected the Messiah to baptize when he should appear, but also Elijah and "that prophet." So that both in v.<sup>25</sup> and in v.<sup>21</sup> John is placed in contrast with the expected Messiah, and Elijah, and the prophet. He denies, not alone that he is the Messiah, but also that he is either one of the others.

Another instance of false construction is found in his interpretation of 13<sup>1-11</sup>. This he makes to mean that the followers of Christ were washed by the blood of his cross, and therefore did not need the washing of water. The evangelist gives an altogether different significance to the scene. There is no evidence that when Jesus said "Ye are clean" he referred to the cleansing through his blood. On the other hand the natural explanation would be offered by 15<sup>3</sup>, "Ye are clean through the word that I have spoken unto you," not through the blood that I shall shed.

In general, Baldensperger's interpretations of passages which he thinks significant for his purpose are exceedingly fanciful. He thinks the whole of ch. 2 falls under the view-point of cleansing, and thus explains why Jesus is represented as cleansing the temple at the beginning rather than at the close of his ministry. He says it is not impossible that when Jesus said to Peter, *ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάννα*, it was an allusion to Peter's former relations with John. Again, in order to correct the impression given by the Synoptists that John preceded Jesus in baptizing, the author represents them as at work at the same time (3<sup>22-23</sup>). Baldensperger does not seem to see the force of the fact that ch. 1 presupposes John's earlier work in this direction, that even 3<sup>22</sup> implies the same thing, and that in 4<sup>1</sup> we are informed that Jesus did not baptize at all.

In fact, Baldensperger fits the evangelist out with an astounding knowledge of language and skill in its use; a remarkably clear apprehension of what he wishes to accomplish and of the dangers of the narrow channel through which he must pass to his desired haven; and a dexterity in dialectics, polemics, and apologetic incompatible alike with the ability and the honesty of any known personality of the early Church who might have written the Fourth Gospel.

Baldensperger's interpretation makes the evangelist use as chief arguments against the disciples of John a number of allegations which have no visible support except in the word of the evangelist himself; *e.g.* that John the Baptizer bore witness to the eternal existence and creative activity of the unincarnate Word; and that Law and Gospel came alike from the *pleroma*, or the *Logos*. This makes the evangelist's position extremely weak; for while his opponents would presumably have accepted the testimony of the Baptizer, they would be certain to question whether he had ever given such testimony. And, as Baldensperger supposes these Johannites to have been well acquainted with the Synoptists' references to their master, it is plain that not finding there the testimony alleged to have been given, they could with good reason ask why they had never heard of this before. If the evangelist was as shrewd as Baldensperger takes him to be, he would not have allowed his own assertions with reference to John's testimony to stand unsupported. On the other hand, if we suppose no immediate or sharp controversy, the evangelist could rightly expect his assertions to be received as true, particularly if they are interpreted as mainly in accordance with the Synoptists.

It is not necessary to take up at length the evidence Baldensperger gives us from beyond the Gospel of the existence of an aggressive Johannite party in the time of the writing of the Fourth Gospel. He makes much of Acts 18<sup>24</sup>-19<sup>7</sup>. But even if we were to allow that he has obviated the difficulties in the text, still the events there narrated are so much earlier than the presumed date of the Fourth Gospel as to shed no light on the existence of a later party of John's followers. Besides, even if they existed in considerable numbers in the first century but were all as easily converted as the story in Acts leads us to believe, they would not make trouble enough to warrant the writing of the Fourth Gospel. Baldensperger relies much on the evidence the Johannine epistles afford us of the aggressions of such a party, but he gives us no proofs that the opponents of the author of the Johannine literature were Johannites. This is merely assumed. In fact, Baldensperger admits that the references are vague outside of

the Fourth Gospel, and that he is obliged to divine the significance of certain hints given in patristic and other extra-Gospel literature. One more remark on this point: if the Gospel and epistles are all monuments of this controversy, it is strange that no mention is made of John the Baptizer in the epistles. On the supposition that the Fourth Gospel is what Baldensperger thinks, we cannot find the traces of the enemy that we should naturally expect. A party of John's followers, strong enough and sufficiently aggressive and widely diffused, to demand the writing of the Fourth Gospel and the three Johannine epistles, would have been remembered by later writers with such horror as to have received some clear mention in the literature they have left us, particularly as some of them lived so near the time when the Johannites are supposed to have been so troublesome. It is incredible that those writers in giving us the alleged motives which prompted the writing of the Fourth Gospel should not have preserved some clear reminiscence of such a party of Johannites as Baldensperger supposes.

But Baldensperger's theory proves too much. He claims that, with but insignificant exceptions, the Johannites coöperated with the Christians during the earlier period. But, as a matter of fact, were we to employ Baldensperger's methods, we could make the Synoptists as truly a polemic against the Johannites as the Fourth Gospel. *E.g.* Matt. 3<sup>1-17</sup>, with its parallels, is a clear attempt to exalt John the Baptizer for the purpose of making more valuable his testimony to the still greater exaltation of Jesus and of placing Jesus in every way above John, and especially of preventing the conclusion that because Jesus was baptized by John, John was in any way the superior of Jesus.

Again, Matt. 11<sup>11</sup> (Luke 7<sup>28</sup>) makes Jesus at once magnify John in comparison with other prophets, and belittle him in comparison with the Christians.

Matthew 14<sup>12</sup> takes pains to say that the disciples of John reported the death of their master to Jesus, thereby recognizing that they were dependent upon him.

Mark 6<sup>1-10</sup> is designed to show that all the wonderful works done by a celebrated prophet, whose identity was unknown to some, were not performed by any supposed resurrected John, but by Jesus.

We find further that the Synoptists in common with our evangelist report no miracles of John, and that they unite with the Fourth Gospel in speaking of John as a voice.

Were this clew followed out with the use of Baldensperger's critical apparatus, we could prove that the Synoptists as well as the Fourth

Gospel were written to combat the party of John the Baptizer. The same could be done with Paul's letter to the Romans, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and perhaps with other New Testament literature.

In conclusion, it is admitted that there was, during the first century, a party of Johannites, of whom, however, we know but little ; and it is possible that the writer of the Johannine literature may have had them in mind to some extent as he wrote ; but it seems clear that our evangelist, like the other writers of the New Testament, had before him, as he wrote, some other main purpose than merely to carry on a polemic against the followers of John and a defence of the claims of Jesus rather than John to the dignity of the Messiahship. The evangelist wrote, not chiefly to prove that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, but that believing, his readers might have life through his name.

## The Antiquity of the Divine Title אל עליון in Gen. xiv.

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IT is well known that two very divergent views are held in regard to the date of origin and the historical value of Gen. 14. Nöldeke<sup>1</sup> submitted it to the most scrutinizing criticism in 1869, and since that day most literary critics have followed in his footsteps. According to him it was written with a *tendency* to glorify Abraham and to surround him with a halo of military renown; it gives the impression of being exact history, because it deals with the names of kings, localities, and historical events, while in reality these names are inventions and forgeries.

Cornill<sup>2</sup> takes the same view, and sums up his estimate by saying: "We have in Gen. 14 a late supplement to an already completed Pentateuch after the manner of the Midrash and Chronicles. Its tendency comes to light clearly in the Melchizedek episode."

On the other hand, the historian Ewald<sup>3</sup> considered it a fragment of some very ancient historical work; and Kittel<sup>4</sup> agrees with him, regarding it as an ancient Canaanitish document which had its origin in priestly circles of pre-Israelitish days. The Assyriologists,<sup>5</sup> almost without exception, put a high estimate on the historical value of the chapter; and many of them go so far as to identify the names of the kings of v.<sup>1</sup> with some that have been found on the monuments.

It is not the design of this paper to discuss all the *pros* and *cons* which have been advanced by the protagonists of these views. Apart from purely subjective considerations, the criteria for relegating the chapter to the exile are not many. One that has been put forward

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen z. Kritik d. Alten Testaments*, p. 156 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Ewald, *History of Israel*, vol. i. p. 321 (Eng. trans.).

<sup>4</sup> Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, p. 158 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Schrader, *SBAW*, 1887, p. 600 ff.; Lyon, *Bib. World*, vol. vii. pp. 425-437; Jastrow, *JQR.*, Oct. 1900, p. 42.

with a considerable degree of plausibility is the use of the divine title אֱלֹהִים by the heathen king of Jerusalem. It has been maintained that it is at least an anachronism in his mouth, that the pious Jew of the exile did not care to put the divine name Yahweh into a formula uttered by a gentile, and consequently used a circumlocution. Holzinger,<sup>6</sup> in his *Commentary on Genesis*, which is the latest that has appeared on this book, emphasizes the significance of this divine title as a criterion of the post-exilic origin of the chapter. The chief prop for his theory is the fact that the Maccabees bore the title ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ ὑψίστου, and the two proof texts cited are: Josephus, *Ant.* XV. chap. 6, § 2 (the book should be XVI.), and the Assumption of Moses 6<sup>1</sup>. A careful examination shows that these passages lend a very frail support to Holzinger's theory. The reading of the second passage is extremely doubtful. Fritzsche's<sup>7</sup> text runs, "*et qui sacerdotes summi dei vocabuntur;*" and if this text be accepted, the adjective may be regarded as agreeing with *sacerdotes*, and consequently the translation would be, "who will name themselves high priests of God." Clemen<sup>8</sup> reads *summos* instead of *summi*, and renders, "*und werden zu Hohenpriestern Gottes berufen werden.*" The citation from Josephus runs ἐπὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως θεοῦ ὑψίστου; and is found in an imperial Roman letter, which is scarcely the place to go for distinctly Jewish ideas. A verse which at best is ambiguous and the letter of a Roman emperor furnish rather doubtful evidence for the late origin of El Elyon.

The least satisfactory attempt to prove the antiquity of this divine title is the one made by Sayce<sup>9</sup> and Hommel<sup>10</sup> to connect it with *šarru dannu*. In the Tell-el-Amarna letters (Berlin, Nos. 102 and 103) Ebed-Tob (Sayce), or Abd-khiba (Hommel), the Prefect of Jerusalem, makes the statement that he had not inherited his kingly throne, but that the arm of the "mighty king" gave it to him. The same phrase occurs in another letter, where it is used by the same personage. Sayce regards *šarru dannu* as the name of a deity, and

<sup>6</sup> Holzinger, *Genesis* (*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*), p. 145.

After this paper was prepared Gunkel's *Commentar* appeared (*Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*). Gunkel thinks that El Elyon is a very ancient appellative, cf. p. 260.

<sup>7</sup> Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Graece*, p. 711. The MS. reads *in* for *qui*.

<sup>8</sup> Clemen, *Himmelfahrt Moses*, in Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, vol. ii. p. 324.

<sup>9</sup> Sayce, *Expository Times*, vol. vii. p. 478.

<sup>10</sup> Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 156.

remarks, "Ebed-Tob is careful to distinguish between the King of Egypt and the Mighty King." This is not conclusive, for even a cursory examination of the Tell-el-Amarna letters reveals that the titles of the Egyptian kings are many. Hommel is more judicious in his view; he considers *sarru dannu* the title of an earthly potentate, preferably the great king of the Khati; but he goes farther, adding that it "sounds for all the world like the echo of some ancient sacred formula, or of a phrase that originally possessed a religious significance." To the Egyptian king the phrase "the arm of the mighty king" signified the power of his rival, the Khati monarch, but in Jerusalem every one would regard it as equivalent to אל עליון. This reasoning is not very cogent, as the context of the Tell-el-Amarna letters most certainly points to an earthly monarch. In view of this visionary character of the views of Sayce and Hommel it seems strange that the article on "El Elyon" in Hastings' Bible Dictionary<sup>11</sup> should contain little else than a presentation of the problematical ideas of these two scholars on this title of deity.

So far the heart of the question has not been reached. Since the day that Nöldeke asserted that El Elyon was synonymous with Yahweh, literary critics seem to have followed him without any thorough-going investigation. At any rate this position puts the question very clearly before us. This divine title is either a circumlocution for Yahweh and is specifically Israelitish in its origin, and hence, if not an anachronism, is yet historically impossible in the mouth of Melchizedek; or, on the other hand, the idea of El Elyon, if not the name itself, was common to many Semitic peoples, and consequently its use in the passage under consideration does no violence to historical perspective.

If the facts are passed in review, it will be quite evident that the latter view is more probable, and that it answers all the requirements of the historical situation. The word אל by itself would cause no trouble, for, although it is an etymological martyr, yet it is universally recognized as the appellative which was used by the Semites long before they split up into Arabs, Hebrews, Aramæans, and Assyrians. Consequently, the battle rages about the word עליון and the idea of a "Most High God" which the expression as a whole conveys.

If this were the only passage of the Old Testament in which the word Elyon occurred, there would be reasonable grounds for suspecting it to be a circumlocution for Yahweh which is credited to

<sup>11</sup> Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 682.

Melchizedek for obvious reasons. In many passages it is certainly synonymous with the name peculiar to Israel's God, *e.g.* Ps. 7<sup>18</sup> 47<sup>a</sup> 83<sup>19</sup> 91<sup>9</sup> 92<sup>2</sup> 97<sup>9</sup>. This, however, does not exhaust its uses, as it is found in one of the members of a synonymous parallelism equivalent to designations of deity which are generally conceded to be very ancient and not specifically Israelitish. In Num. 24<sup>16</sup> it is parallel to אל, and hence equivalent to the most ancient and general term for god found in the Semitic languages. The full force of this is felt only when it is remembered that Num. 24<sup>10</sup> is considered a part of J (Kuen. 24<sup>16</sup> E), cf. Ps. 107<sup>11</sup>; and it occurs once, Ps. 91<sup>1</sup>, as a synonym of ישרי, another ancient appellation of deity. From this it is apparent that the Old Testament usage of the word Elyon does not limit its meaning to a circumlocution for Yahweh. Considerable light is thrown upon the signification and use of this word in Ps. 83, where the Psalmist prays that the nations surrounding Israel may be vanquished and punished. The purpose of this overthrow and subjugation of Israel's neighbors is that they may learn the position of Yahweh as עליון<sup>12</sup> over the whole earth. It would be impossible for the tribes mentioned in Ps. 83<sup>6-9</sup> to appreciate such a sentiment, unless they accorded to one of their own gods a position above all the others, and possessed the idea if not the name El Elyon.

This inference, drawn from the language of this psalm, is supported by facts drawn from the religious ideas of various branches of the Semitic family. This divine title has not been found on the cuneiform inscriptions, but Assyriologists very generally acknowledge that the idea was current in every period of Babylonian and Assyrian history. Delitzsch,<sup>13</sup> in speaking of the names for deity employed by the Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia, remarks of *ilā(ili)i* that from their primary meaning of 'lofty' or 'exalted,' they came to signify in the oldest pantheon 'god most high' (*den höchsten Gott*). Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr.,<sup>14</sup> expresses himself in the same strain. En-il or Bel of Nippur occupies a position of lord *par excellence* at the head of the ancient Babylonian pantheon. In the days of Hammurabi this rôle is usurped by Marduk of Babylon, and "such are the endearing terms in which he speaks of his god, as to give one the impression that, when thinking of Marduk, the king for the moment loses sight of the other gods." Likewise in the Assyrian

<sup>12</sup> Halévy has found this divine title in a Nabatean proper name עבר-עלי, in which עלי is an equivalent of עליון, *Journal Asiatique*, VII. Ser. tome. xix. p. 482.

<sup>13</sup> Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 163, 164.

<sup>14</sup> Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 53, 117, 192.

pantheon Ashur was supreme among the gods. The other gods are "little Ashurs, as it were, by the side of the great one."

The pre-Islamic religion of the Arabs does not throw much light on the question, for Allah, owing to the decay of tribal deities, is already supreme in the poems which are the chief sources of our information. These poems, no doubt, underwent a redaction after the rise of Islam, and consequently their testimony must be used with great caution. Notwithstanding these facts Wellhausen<sup>15</sup> is of the opinion that not only the Arabs but the Semites in general believed that their gods had a chief who was lord of the heavens.

The evidence furnished by the Phœnician religion is more precise and exact. The Phœnicians not only had the idea but also the very title. In order to prove this it is not necessary to recount at length the theogony of Philo Byblus found in the *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius<sup>16</sup>; the testimony of this work may be accepted without hesitation, for it is no longer regarded as a creation of the author, but as a presentation of Phœnician cosmogony and theogony on the basis of very ancient legends.<sup>17</sup> According to the legend, as given by Eusebius, there dwelt in the country about Byblus, one Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὑψιστος and his wife Βηροῖθ, by whom he had a numerous progeny. In the course of time this Ἐλιοῦν lost his life among the wild animals and was accorded a place among the gods. The LXX. translation of עֵלִיֹן by ὕψιστος leaves no doubt that in this euhemeristic legend there is an echo of the divine title El Elyon. From other sources it may be learned that the Phœnicians accorded to one of their deities a position of honor at the head of their pantheon. This deity was El, or Bel, or Belitan, or the ancient Bel, who was identical with the Greek Kronos or Latin Saturn, and was generally identified by the Phœnicians with the planet Saturn. Movers<sup>18</sup> thinks that this El or Bel is none other than the El Elyon of Melchizedek.

Furthermore, it has been maintained that this title is monotheistic; and, consequently, in accordance with prevalent views on the religion of the Hebrews, it must have been coined in the exilic period. There is, however, no monotheistic tinge to the term, but rather a superlative idea, which can be present only in case of a comparison between a plurality of gods.<sup>19</sup> The word Elyon reflects polytheism — gods

<sup>15</sup> Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 209.

<sup>16</sup> Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica*, ed. Dindorf, I. 1014.

<sup>17</sup> Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, p. 406.

<sup>18</sup> Movers, *Die Phönizier*, vol. i. p. 313.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 291 ff.

many and lords many. This exegesis of the word עליון is supported by its use in Dt. 26<sup>18</sup> 28<sup>1</sup>, where it expresses the superiority of the Israelites over all the nations of the earth.

In like manner, the theology of the expression אל עליון קנה שמים וארץ has been regarded late rather than primitive. The phrase is to be translated 'creator ('maker,' R.V. marg.) of heaven and earth.' Holzinger<sup>20</sup> maintains that קנה is equivalent to ברא only in a late stratum of the language, and to support his view cites Dt. 32<sup>6</sup> Ps. 139<sup>13</sup> Prov. 8<sup>22</sup>. This merely testifies to the late use of the word, and does not exclude it from the vocabulary of early times. The conception of Yahweh as creator of heaven and earth is anything but modern. In Gen. 2<sup>4b</sup> the creative act is referred to Him in very distinct terms, "in the day that the Lord God made earth and heaven." Holzinger<sup>20</sup> assigns this portion of the verse to J<sup>1</sup>, which he himself does not put down in the exilic period. The modern school of literary critics are agreed in regarding Jud. 5 as the oldest monument of Hebrew literature extant,<sup>21</sup> and in that ancient song Yahweh is the possessor and ruler of the heavens and earth, for in that national crisis the stars in their courses fought for Him and His cause. Such a view is not specifically Israelitish, but is duplicated by Babylonian ideas; they ascribed the creation of the universe to their gods. In the so-called 'Creation Epic,' which has been also termed 'The Epic of Marduk,' this god is creator of the world, and brings order out of chaos and light out of darkness.<sup>22</sup>

In view of all these facts the antiquity of this divine title can scarcely be questioned; if ancient, and not specifically Israelitish, it is not an anachronism doing violence to historical perspective. If, therefore, it can be correctly ascribed to Melchizedek, the priest-king of Jerusalem in the age of Abraham, taken as a criterion of date, it does not conflict with a very early origin for this much-discussed and controverted chapter.

<sup>20</sup> Holzinger, *Genesis* (*Kurzer Hand-Commentar z. Alten Testament*), pp. xxv, 145.

<sup>21</sup> Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 345.

<sup>22</sup> Fell, *ZDMG.* 1900, p. 258, points out that many Sabaeen deities have the epithet דשם, which certainly recalls the phrase under discussion.

## The Theology of Jeremiah.

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THE statement, now generally accepted, that the prophets were preachers rather than theologians, is as true of Jeremiah as of any of their number. By his theology, therefore, is meant, not a system of doctrine taught by him as such, but the aggregate, in a more scientific form of presentation, of the principles that constitute or underlie his prophetic teaching.

It was not necessary for Jeremiah to assert the existence of a God. No one in his day seems to have doubted it. The gentile as well as the Jew would as soon have ventured to question the reality of his father. The fault of the times was of an opposite character. Men, even Jews, saw the divine in so many and so diverse experiences that they inclined to believe in a multiplicity of deities. This was an ancient error. Its existence among the early Hebrews is abundantly attested; but perhaps the most instructive passage is Jud. xi. 21 ff., where Jephthah is represented as recognizing Kemosh as no less really a God than Yahweh. He believed that the latter was the more powerful, otherwise he would not have trusted him; and this was probably about the extent of the claim of loyal Hebrews generally, not only in his day but for a long time afterward. Hence such expressions as, "Who is like thee, Yahweh, among the gods" (Ex. xv. 11); "Yahweh is the greatest of all the gods" (Ex. xviii. 11), etc.

In Jeremiah's day many of his countrymen had receded from Jephthah's position, going so far as to desert Yahweh and to adopt the gods of their neighbors (ii. 10 f.; v. 19), Baal (vii. 9), Ishtar (vii. 18), Molokh (xxxii. 35), and others almost without number (ii. 28). In the end they justified their disloyalty to the God of Israel by claiming that they had found it to their advantage to change their religion. When Jeremiah threatened those who had migrated to Egypt with destruction because they persisted in burning incense to other gods, they replied, "We will certainly fulfil the

whole vow that hath gone forth from our mouths, burning incense to the queen of heaven and pouring libations to her as we have done, ourselves and our fathers, our kings and our princes, in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem; for then we had plenty of food and it was well with us, nor saw we any evil. But since we ceased to burn incense to the queen of heaven and to pour libations to her, we have lacked every thing and perished by the sword and from famine" (xliv. 17 f.).

Jeremiah, in his efforts to persuade his people to renew their allegiance to Yahweh, was not content to maintain, with Jephthah, that their God was more powerful, and therefore more worthy of reverence, than any other divinity. He had learned of Amos (ix. 7), Hosea (xiv. 3), and Isaiah (ii. 8), and he taught more emphatically than either of them, that the God of the Hebrews was the only proper object of worship, obedience, and confidence, and that the so-called gods of the gentiles were not entitled to the honor paid them by their devotees. He repeatedly contrasts the true God and his false rivals.<sup>1</sup> He declares in so many words that the latter are not gods (ii. 11; v. 7); that they cannot help those who trust in them (iii. 23), being like cracked cisterns that will not hold water (ii. 13); and no wonder, since they are mere stocks or stones, which owe any semblance of life that they exhibit to human dexterity (ii. 27). It might be objected that it was unfair for Jeremiah thus to identify the gods of the gentiles with the stocks and stones against which he inveighs; but the point is not well taken, for the great majority of his hearers (or readers) probably did thus identify them; and if any one had insisted upon a distinction, the prophet would doubtless have denied the existence of the beings supposed to be symbolized, or declared that, if they existed, there was no ground for recognizing them as deities. Perhaps he would have repeated his question, "Are there among the vanities of the nations any that send showers (xiv. 22)?"

It is interesting, in passing, to note the names by which Jeremiah designates the true God. The one most common in his book is Yahweh, which occurs more than seven hundred (710) times, and in about four-fifths (563) of all these cases without any added title. When this name has a supplementary designation, it is seldom (only 41 times) "my God, thy God," etc. These facts bear on the question

<sup>1</sup> The most extended passage bearing on this point is x. 1-16; but it goes so far in the direction described, and so much resembles Isa. xlv. 8 ff., that scholars are inclined to attribute it to some one in Exilic or post-Exilic times. See Driver, *ILOT*<sup>2</sup>, 254; Giesebrecht, *in loc.*; comp. Streane, *in loc.*

of Jeremiah's relation to Deuteronomy, where, as is well known, Yahweh alone is rare, but "Yahweh thy God" remarkably frequent, except in apparent additions to the original work.<sup>2</sup>

The most frequent addition to Yahweh is the phrase "of hosts" (38 times), or "the God of Israel" (15 times), or a combination of the two (31 times). See also "Yahweh the God of hosts" (twice), and "Yahweh the God of hosts, the God of Israel" (4 times). The descriptive phrase "the God of Israel" is not here used in the sense in which Jephthah (Jud. xi. 23) used it. He thought of Yahweh as one among many national deities; Jeremiah doubtless meant to emphasize the fact that, although he was "the God of all flesh" (xxxii. 27), Israel alone had thus far recognized his sovereignty. The name "Lord" occurs with "Yahweh" (Eng. GOD) 8 times, and with the fuller "Yahweh of hosts" 6 times. The peculiar combination just cited, "Yahweh, the God of all flesh," appears but once; so also "Yahweh of hosts, our God." The name "God" is rarely found without "Yahweh," and when it is so used it usually has a pronominal or other modifier; as in the expressions "his" or "their God" (3 times), "the true God" (once), "the living God" (twice), "the great, the mighty God" (once), "a God that recompenseth" (once), and "a God at hand and not afar" (once). Twice only is "God" strictly a proper name. Yahweh is also called "the King" (once), "the everlasting King" (once), and "the King of the nations" (once). Finally, he is twice, and only twice, called by the name, frequent in the book of Isaiah, "the Holy One of Israel."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In 1 of the 41 cases mentioned the descriptive clause is "my God," in 17 "our God," in 7 "thy God," in 7 "your God," in 1 "his God," and in 8 "their God." These figures also have significance.

<sup>3</sup> The above figures represent the usage with respect to names of the Deity in the book of Jeremiah as a whole. As has already been suggested, there are parts of the prophecies traditionally attributed to him whose genuineness is questioned. The following are the passages of any importance bracketed by Giesebrecht: i. 3; iii. 17 f.; iv. 27 b; v. 10 a $\beta$ , 18; ix. 21/22 a $\alpha$ ; x. 1-16; xii. 4 a, 14 b $\beta$ ; xiv. 1; xv. 11-14; xvi. 14 f., 18, 20 f.; xvii. 11-13, 19-27; xviii. 4 a $\beta$ , 20 a $\beta$ ; xix. 3-9, 11 b-13; xxi. 11 f., 14 a; xxii. 8 f., 25 b; xxiii. 10 a $\beta$ , 19 f., 36 b $\beta$ ; xxv. 1 b, 4, 7 b, 12-14, 20 a, 22, 24 a, 25-31, 35-38; xxvi. 22 b; xxvii. 1, 7, 10 b, 20 b, 21 b; xxviii. 14 b, 16 b $\beta$ ; xxix. 14, 32 b; xxx. 2-24; xxxi. 1, 7-14, 16 b, 21-26, 35-40; xxxii. 1-5, 17 a $\beta$ -23, 30 b, 35 b; xxxiii. 2 f., 11 a $\beta$ , 14-26; xxxiv. 1 b, 21; xxxviii. 9 b $\beta$ ; xxxix. 1 f., 4-13; xl. 4 b; xli. 14 a; xlv. 1 b; xlvi.; xlvii. 1 a; xlviii.; xlix. 1-6, 9, 12-39; l.-lii. In these suspected passages, aggregating nearly a third of the book, "Yahweh" alone occurs 172 times, "Yahweh of hosts" 17 times, "Yahweh the God of Israel" twice, "Yahweh of hosts, the God of Israel" 7 times, "Yahweh my (etc.) God" 6 times, "Yahweh of hosts our God" once, and "Lord

It is clear that Jeremiah taught the unity of God. It may be inferred from his antagonism to material symbols of every sort and his avoidance of the anthropomorphisms frequent in the works of earlier writers, that he thought of Yahweh as a spirit; but there is no express declaration to this effect. The other metaphysical attributes so-called are more clearly taught. The power of Yahweh is magnified. It is he, says the prophet, who "by an everlasting decree made the sand a bound for the sea, which it doth not pass. Though the waves thereof toss themselves, they do not prevail; though they roar, they do not pass it" (v. 22). In another passage Yahweh is represented as asserting not only that he made the earth and everything in it, but that he fixes the destinies of its inhabitants. "I," he says, "made the earth, man and beast that are on the face of the earth, by my great power and by my outstretched arm; and I give it to whomsoever it seemeth right in my eyes" (xxvii. 5). In the next verse he says that he has given all the neighboring lands, even the beasts of the field that they contain, into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, his servant; and in xviii. 6 ff. he asserts that not only Israel but all the nations are completely in his power and under his control, like clay in the hands of the potter. See also i. 10, 15; v. 15 ff.; xxiii. 7 f.; xxv. 9; xxviii. 14 a; xliii. 10 ff. In all these cases the thought of the omnipotence of Yahweh is intended to inspire fear and reverence; but this is not the only possible effect. He is a "fountain of living water" (ii. 13) to those who seek him, and "a mighty champion" (xx. 11) of such as fly to him for refuge. In him, and him alone, is the help needed by Israel (iii. 23). He can deliver even from the mighty hand of the king of Babylon, for he is "the God of all flesh" and nothing is too difficult for him (xxxii. 27).<sup>4</sup>

Yahweh of hosts" 5 times; while neither "Yahweh the God of hosts," "Yahweh the God of hosts, the God of Israel," "Yahweh the God of all flesh," nor "Lord Yahweh" appears at all. On the other hand, "Yahweh of hosts our God," "God" with a modifier (except in two cases), "King," with or without, and "the Holy One of Israel" occur only in these passages. Of the expressions used by both, "Yahweh the God of Israel," "Yahweh of hosts the God of Israel," and "Yahweh my (etc.) God" may be regarded as Jeremianic, and "Yahweh of hosts" and "Lord Yahweh of hosts" as more characteristic of the later writer or writers by whom the book was enlarged to its present dimensions.

<sup>4</sup> The omnipotence of Yahweh is most explicitly taught in some of the suspected passages above enumerated; and this is one of the reasons for doubting their genuineness. A hint of the greatness of God is given in xvi. 21, where he is represented as threatening to make known to his people his "hand" and his "might." In x. 6 the writer exclaims, "There is none like thee, Yahweh; thou

The universal control of men and things implies omnipresence and omniscience. Jeremiah combines the three attributes in xxiii. 23 f., where he represents Yahweh as saying, "Am I a god at hand, and not at a distance? or can a man hide himself in secret places where I cannot see him? Do I not fill heaven and earth?"<sup>5</sup> His sight reaches the thoughts and purposes as well as the actions of men (xi. 20; xii. 3; xvii. 10; xx. 12),<sup>6</sup> and his knowledge extends not only to what is but to what will be, even to the future actions of his free creatures (i. 5; vii. 27; etc.).<sup>7</sup>

Among the moral attributes of Yahweh Jeremiah, like his predecessors in the prophetic office, gives great prominence to righteousness. In an appeal to God, when hard pressed by the people of Anathoth, he addresses him as "Yahweh of hosts, who judgest righteously" (xi. 20). In another passage (ix. 23/24) he makes Yahweh himself say that "judgment and righteousness" are among the things in which he especially delights; and in a third (ii. 5) he represents him as asking, "What unrighteousness did your fathers find in me, that they withdrew from me?" True, the prophet seems sometimes to have questioned the correctness of his own teaching on this subject. In xii. 1 he feels himself impelled to protest, "Why is the way of transgressors prosperous? why do they that practice treachery enjoy tranquillity?" But he introduces this protest with a

art great, and thy name is great in might"; and in xxxii. 17, "There is nothing too difficult for thee." See xxxii. 27. Therefore, in xxxiii. 2 he is called "Yahweh who planneth to accomplish." "He made the earth by his might, established the world in his wisdom; and in his understanding he stretched out the heavens" (x. 12; see also xxxii. 17). In fact, "he is the fashioner of all things" (x. 16). He "placed the sun for light by day, and appointed the moon and the stars for light at night" (xxxii. 35). His power is manifested in the processes of nature. "When he uttereth his voice there is a roar of water in heaven, and he causeth vapours to rise from the ends of the earth; flashes with rain he maketh, and bringeth the wind from his storehouses" (x. 13). "At his wrath the earth quaketh; nor can the nations endure his anger" (x. 10). Such is "the portion of Jacob," he who has chosen Israel for his people (x. 16).

<sup>5</sup> Giesebrecht, following the Greek Version, omits the interrogative in the first clause of xxiii. 23, but he would not change the interpretation of the passage.

<sup>6</sup> For a repetition of the thought of xvii. 10 in a doubtful passage, see xxxii. 19.

<sup>7</sup> The wisdom of Yahweh receives no attention from Jeremiah, but it is strongly emphasized in some of the additions to his prophecies. According to xxxii. 19 Yahweh is "great in counsel" as well as "mighty in work." "He established the world by his wisdom, and by his understanding stretched out the heavens" (x. 12). Man is foolish in comparison. "Among all the wise men of the nations," exclaims the author of x. 7, "there is none like thee!"

confession that Yahweh always vindicates himself when his righteousness is questioned, and in xvii. 10 he endorses the divine declaration, "I, Yahweh, search the heart, try the reins; giving to each according to his way, according to the fruit of his doings." Such is the more direct evidence on the point in question. There is further proof of the prophet's belief in the righteousness of his God. The doctrine is fundamental in his preaching. It appears in the passages in which justice and uprightness in men are commended (xxii. 3, 16; etc.) or their opposites condemned (xxii. 13). Add to these the cases in which the prophet explains the evils suffered by his people as divine judgments, the penalties of offences against righteousness (vii. 12; xii. 4; etc.), and it will be evident that his sense of the righteousness of Yahweh was deep and constant.

How, then, did Jeremiah answer his own questions with reference to the prosperity and tranquillity of the wicked? The solution of his difficulties he doubtless found in the thought of ix. 23/24, where Yahweh is represented as saying that he exercises "lovingkindness," as well as "judgement and righteousness, in the earth." At any rate, he taught that, although Yahweh is righteous, he does not always at once punish those who deserve punishment, but bears with them as long as there is any hope of their reformation. The divine longsuffering is touchingly portrayed in ch. iii. Here, as in the book of Hosea, the relation between Yahweh and Israel (in the narrower sense) is pictured as that between husband and wife. In v. 1 Yahweh says, "Thou hast played the harlot with many lovers, yet return to me"; and a little later (v. 7), "I said after she had done all these things, Let her return to me, but she did not return." The prophet twice (xxvi. 2 f.; xxxvi. 2 f.) says that Yahweh, when giving him a message to his people, added, "It may be that they will give ear and return each from his evil way." He repeatedly refers to preceding prophets as agents of a longsuffering God (vii. 13; xxix. 19; etc.), and, like Amos (Am. iv. 6 ff.), interprets the misfortunes that his countrymen have hitherto suffered not as penalties imposed by an offended Judge so much as chastisements devised by an anxious Father (ii. 30; v. 3; etc.).

Of course there is a limit to the divine forbearance. There are several passages where Jeremiah uses language which, strictly interpreted, would mean that the salvation of his people was then no longer possible. He represents Yahweh as saying to him, "Pray not for this people, nor lift up cry for them nor prayer, nor intercede with me; for I will not listen to thee" (vii. 16); and again, "Though

Moses stood before me, and Samuel, my desire would not be toward this people. Send them from my presence . . . I am weary with repenting" (xv. 1, 6). See also xi. 14; xiii. 14; etc. In all such cases, however, it is taken for granted that the people will remain deaf to the prophet's warnings and entreaties. Whenever the possibility of repentance on their part is suggested, he at once meets it with an offer of mercy (iii. 12, 22; etc.). Indeed he puts into the mouth of Yahweh a declaration of his willingness to spare at the last moment: "If I speak of uprooting and overthrowing and destroying a nation or a kingdom, the moment that nation turneth from its wickedness I will repent of the evil that I thought to do to it" (xviii. 7 f.). In other words, the teaching of Jeremiah is, that, while there is no escape for the incorrigible, whenever the guilty turn to Yahweh, he is too merciful to deny them forgiveness. See especially iii. 12.

The faithfulness of Yahweh is implied in passages in which he is represented as reproaching the Hebrews with breaking their covenant with him (xi. 10; xxxi. 32; etc.), but the only passage in which it is expressly taught by Jeremiah is i. 12, and there he confines himself to putting into the mouth of Yahweh the simple statement, "My word I am on the watch to fulfil."<sup>8</sup>

Jeremiah had no occasion to deal with the nature and condition of primeval man. At any rate, he says nothing on the subject. But he has much to say about the moral and spiritual condition of his contemporaries, and one may infer from these utterances something with reference to his idea of man as man. He certainly recognized the freedom of the human will. This doctrine is implied throughout his prophecies; e.g. in his frequent arraignments of his countrymen for their sins (i. 16; ii. 5; etc.), and especially in the entreaties which he now and then represents Yahweh as addressing to them (iii. 11 ff.; xlv. 4; etc.). At first sight xviii. 6 seems to teach a different doctrine; but the discrepancy is only apparent, for, although Yahweh says that the house of Israel are in his hands "as clay in the hand of the potter," it is clear that this statement has reference to outward circumstances rather than inward dispositions, since he at once explains that his treatment of the nations depends upon the

<sup>8</sup> There are fuller and stronger statements on this subject in certain passages whose genuineness is questioned. Thus, in xxxi. 35 f., Yahweh declares that the order of nature is not more trustworthy than his partiality for Israel, and in xxxiii. 20 f. he makes a similar statement with reference to his covenant with David.

attitude which they themselves take toward him: in other words, that, whatever else he may do, he does not interfere with the freedom of his creatures. See also x. 23. In xxxi. 18, for "turn thou me," etc., read, "let me return, and I will return."

The prophet is very outspoken on the subject of the moral condition of the Jews of his time. He says that Yahweh commanded him, or any one (this seems to be the meaning of the plural), to traverse the streets of Jerusalem and see "if there be any that doeth justice, that seeketh truth" (v. 1). The leaders, he says, "with one accord have broken the yoke, have burst the bands" (v. 5). "From their least even to their greatest," he continues (vi. 13), "they all practise pillage, and the priest as well as the prophet dealeth in deception." See also ix. 3/4. He charges his countrymen not only with sinning but with being habitual sinners. He illustrates their condition in two striking figures: Of Jerusalem he says, "As a cistern keepeth cool its water, so she reneweth her wickedness" (vi. 7); and of the country at large, "The sin of Judah is written with an iron style, with a diamond point; graven on the tablet of their hearts, and on the horns of their<sup>9</sup> altars" (xvii. 1). A third is even stronger, "Doth the Kushite change his skin, or the leopard its spots? if so, ye can do well who are trained to evil" (xiii. 23). The evident intent of these and many other passages in the book of Jeremiah is to represent the Jews of the day as thoroughly corrupt; but it would be a mistake to suppose the prophet to mean that this corruption was absolutely universal, and a still greater error to cite him as an authority for the doctrine of inherent or hereditary depravity. The nearest approach to any such teaching is found in the declaration that "the heart is deceitful above everything, yea, it is corrupt" (xvii. 9); but even this passage does not contain the doctrine in question, for the context clearly shows that it is a description of the condition, not of the race, but of him "whose heart turneth from Yahweh" (v. 5). In this, therefore, as in the passages previously cited, Jeremiah teaches that the corruption of which he accuses his countrymen is the result of their own voluntary conduct. See also iv. 4. He could not do otherwise and be consistent, for, in another place (xxx. 29 f.), he virtually repudiates the idea of the transmission of guilt from one generation to another. He was moved to this declaration on hearing the proverb in which the ungodly of his time parodied the familiar description of Yahweh as "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children" (Ex. xx. 5; etc.). He said, "In those days they shall

<sup>9</sup> The "your" of the Hebrew text is an error.

no longer say, Fathers have eaten green grapes, and children's teeth are set on edge; but each shall die for his own iniquity: whosoever eateth the green grapes shall have his own teeth set on edge." True, the prophet represents the application of this law as yet future; but that is a matter of form, a device to secure the adoption of the new view without offending the prejudices of the faithful or permitting their enemies to triumph over them.<sup>19</sup>

The ideal relation between two beings such as God and man are represented by Jeremiah, is easily imagined. Yahweh, on his part, since he is good as well as righteous, cannot but employ the infinite resources both of his power and his wisdom for the welfare of his creature; while man, on his part, must render to his Creator and Benefactor *exclusive reverence* and *unqualified submission*. This is the substance of the prophet's utterances in the various passages in which he has occasion to touch upon the subject. In ii. 2 f. he teaches that the existence of such a relation is the secret of the glory of the golden period when the Hebrews became a nation. Yahweh there says to Jerusalem, "I recall concerning thee the tenderness of thy youth, the affection of thy bridal estate; how thou followedst me in the desert, in a land unsown." This of the attitude of Israel toward their God. There follows a corresponding description of the attitude of Yahweh toward his people: "Israel was holy to Yahweh, his first-fruits of the harvest; all who devoured him became guilty, evil came upon them." In other words, when the covenant between Yahweh and the Hebrews, to which Jeremiah elsewhere repeatedly refers (vii. 23; xi. 4; etc.), was made, they were as devoted to Yahweh as a bride to her newly wedded husband, and he guarded them as jealously as his priests the first-fruits set apart for their exclusive consumption (Deu. xviii. 4). The enjoyment of the relation described, according to Jeremiah, is the highest good. This is the meaning of the passage in which Yahweh says, "Let him that boasteth make this his boast, that he is wise in the knowledge [recognition] that I am Yahweh, who do kindness, justice, and righteousness in the earth" (ix. 23/24). Finally, the prophet represents the restoration of this relation as the central feature of the glorious future which he predicted. Thus, in xxiv. 7, speaking for Yahweh, he says, "I will give them a heart to know that I am Yahweh; and they shall be to me a people, and I will be to them God, when they return to me

<sup>19</sup> The view here taken is not disturbed by xxxii. 18, where the thought of Ex. xx. 5 is put into the mouth of the prophet; since xxxii. 17 a<sup>b</sup>-23 is clearly an addition to the original prayer in the later style of Neh. ix. 6-37. See Giesebrecht.

with all their hearts." The same thought is more fully expressed in xxxi. 33 f., where Yahweh says, "This is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Yahweh: I will put my law within them, yea, on their hearts will I write it; and I will be to them God, and they shall be to me a people. Then shall they no longer teach each his friend and each his brother, saying, Know Yahweh! for all of them shall know me from their least to their greatest, saith Yahweh."

There could hardly be a stronger contrast than that between Jeremiah's ideal and the reality by which he was constantly confronted. In the first place, as has already been indicated, the Jews of his day generally refused to recognize Yahweh's claim to be the only true God. Many of them doubtless entirely deserted him and transferred their allegiance to another god, or distributed their reverence among a number of other divinities (ii. 11; iii. 1; etc.). Jeremiah says that the gods of Judah were as numerous as its cities (ii. 28), and that every thoroughfare in Jerusalem had its altar (xi. 13). Ishtar seems to have been Yahweh's most seductive rival. The zeal displayed in her honor is vividly depicted in vii. 18, where he protests "The children gather sticks and the fathers kindle fire, while the women knead dough to make cakes for the queen of heaven . . . that they may provoke me to anger." Some tried to combine the worship of Yahweh with the service of one or more of the gods of their neighbors: *e.g.* burning incense to Baal, but now and then, perhaps with the idea of avoiding possible danger, paying a formal visit to the altar of Yahweh (vii. 9; see also vii. 30 and xxxii. 34). Thus, in one degree or another, the great mass of the Jews of the latter part of the seventh century B.C. neglected the God to whom they owed their existence as a nation. This, however, was not the extent of their offending. With the worship they had adopted the morality, or, more correctly, the immorality, of their neighbors. The prophet charges them with almost every offence known to his generation. In the passage just cited (vii. 9) he enumerates four of the most serious, all expressly prohibited by the Decalogue, theft, murder, adultery, and perjury. Elsewhere he adds to the list, not only pride (xiii. 9), ingratitude (ii. 6 f., 20; etc.), obstinacy (v. 3; viii. 5; etc.), and hypocrisy (xii. 2), but fraud (v. 26 f.; viii. 8; etc.), treachery (v. 1; ix. 3/4; etc.), slander (v. 28; ix. 3/4; etc.), injustice (v. 28; vii. 6; etc.), rapacity (viii. 10; xxii. 17; etc.), oppression (xxii. 17; xxxiv. 16; etc.), and sacrilege (vii. 30; xxiii. 11; etc.). In short, he accuses his countrymen of having virtually repudiated the law, the

teaching in which, through the prophets, Yahweh had revealed to them his character and requirements.

The God of Israel, according to Jeremiah, is acutely sensitive to, and therefore profoundly affected by, the attitude and deportment of his people toward him. He complains of their neglect to honor him, their Deliverer. "Doth a maid forget her ornament, a bride her girdle? Yet my people have forgotten me days without number" (ii. 32; see also *v.* 11). Their devotion to other gods provokes him to anger (*vii.* 18 ff.; *viii.* 19; etc.); so, also, their persistent disregard of his instruction (*vi.* 19; *xvi.* 11 ff.; etc.): and his resentment grows with the multiplication of their transgressions. It is sometimes represented as settling into a chronic aversion (*xii.* 8; *xv.* 1; etc.), but usually as bursting into active hostility (*iv.* 4, 7; etc.). In *iv.* 23 ff. the prophet depicts the terrors of Yahweh's wrath as they presented themselves to his inspired vision: "I behold the earth, and lo! it is waste and void; the heavens, also, and they have no light. I behold the mountains, and lo! they quake; while all the hills tremble. I behold, and lo! there is no man; even the fowl of the heavens are fled. I behold, and lo! the garden is a desert; and all its cities are torn down before Yahweh on account of his glowing anger." Elsewhere the calamities of the past are interpreted as only so many expressions of the divine displeasure (*iii.* 3 ff.; *v.* 3; etc.); and the direst misfortunes, slaughter, famine, pestilence, and banishment are predicted as the result of its continuance (*xv.* 2 ff.; *xxiv.* 8 ff.; etc.). The surrounding nations, of course, being idolaters, are condemned to drink of the same cup with the Jews whom they have corrupted (*xxv.* 15 ff.); so that it would seem as if, according to Jeremiah, mankind were doomed to total extinction.

The times in which Jeremiah lived and labored were seriously "out of joint," but it would be a mistake to suppose that he saw nothing to give him comfort or encouragement. There were incidents in his life that were calculated to make him think more kindly than his ordinary experience would warrant him in thinking of his generation. He repeatedly accused his contemporaries of treachery toward one another and disloyalty to God; but when the Rechabites, fleeing before Nebuchadrezzar, took refuge in Jerusalem, he found them so different from the mass of the Jews that he was moved to commend them as examples of fidelity. "The words," said he, "which Jonadab the son of Rechab commanded his sons, that they drink not wine, are performed; and they have not drunk it unto this day, but have obeyed their father's command: yet I have spoken

unto you early and often, and ye have not hearkened unto me" (xxxv. 14). Later, when he was thrown into prison, and himself suffered, as he had often seen others suffer, from the cruelty of the rulers of his people, he was rescued from this critical situation by Ebed-melek, a Kushite eunuch (xxxviii. 7 ff.), and thus reminded that humanity was not after all a lost virtue. These are individual instances. The prophet must have seen other manifestations of the same sort, otherwise he could hardly have withstood the depressing influence of the corruption of which he was by turns a sorrowful and an indignant witness, and have continued, as he did to the end, to work and to hope, first for the deliverance of his people from the fate that he saw impending, and, when this was no longer possible, for the restoration of a remnant to the favor of Yahweh and a place among the nations.

The zeal of the prophet for the deliverance of his people from the misfortunes which they were suffering and were destined to suffer constantly manifests itself in his prophecies. He seldom uttered a warning without at the same time showing how the impending danger could be averted. It is time to inquire what he taught that a nation or an individual must do to be saved. The substance of his teaching can be stated in a few words. He promised his people deliverance, personal and national, on the simple condition that they return to their allegiance to Yahweh. He did not, however, often put the terms into this succinct form. He usually dwelt now on one, and now on another, of the various stages of feeling or details of conduct which such a change of relation implied or involved. He saw, for example, that it was necessary for the Jews first of all to recognize the wrongness of their actual bearing and actions. He therefore supplements a declaration that Yahweh is waiting to show mercy to them with the exhortation, "Only acknowledge thy iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against Yahweh thy God, and hast strayed in thy ways to strangers, under every green tree, and not obeyed my voice, saith Yahweh" (iii. 12 f.). He himself, in his plea for Jerusalem and Judah, confesses their sins: "We acknowledge, Yahweh, our wickedness and the iniquity of our fathers; for we have sinned against thee" (xiv. 20). The recognition of guilt naturally produces penitence. The prophet therefore expects his people to show signs of contrition in view of their offences. He says that he listened in vain for tokens of this sort from Judah, "No man repenteth of his wickedness, saying, What have I done" (viii. 6)? On the other hand he anticipates the day when Ephraim will say, "Thou hast

chastised me, and I was chastised, like a calf unbroken. Receive me, that I may return; for thou art Yahweh my God. For turning I repent, and confessing I beat my thigh; I am ashamed, yea, confounded, because I bear the reproach of my youth" (xxxi. 18 f.).

These are almost the only passages in which repentance is so directly enjoined; and here it is evidently not required for its own sake, but as the emotional impulse resulting in a return to Yahweh. By a return to Yahweh Jeremiah meant the restoration of the ideal relation of man, especially the Hebrew, to his God; which, as has already been shown, involved, in the first place, the recognition of Yahweh as the exclusive object of worship. The prophet repeatedly exhorts his people to return to Yahweh in this sense. In iii. 1-iv. 2, the subject of which is the unfaithfulness of Israel, there are four such exhortations (iii. 4, 14,<sup>11</sup> 22; iv. 1). See also xxiv. 7; xxv. 5 f. In xxxv. 15 Yahweh says that the burden of the message of his prophets has long been, "Return ye, each from his evil way, and practise well-doing; nor go after other gods to serve them."

Jeremiah did not undertake to prescribe how Yahweh should be worshipped, but he expressed himself in such a way as to make it clear that he did not set much value upon the ecclesiastical institutions of his day. In fact it seems as if he would have liked to see them abolished. He openly repudiated as a superstition the current notion with reference to the sanctuary at Jerusalem; warning his people not to join in the cry, "It is Yahweh's temple! Yahweh's temple! Yahweh's temple" (vii. 4)! as if they held Yahweh a hostage for their safety, and citing the case of Shiloh to show that he could not be tethered to any locality, and that a deserted sanctuary was anything but a desirable refuge (vii. 12). "Therefore," he adds, "thus saith Yahweh, I will do to the house that is called by my name, wherein ye trust, and to the place that I gave to you and your fathers, as I did to Shiloh" (vii. 14). A repetition of this threat would have cost the prophet his life, had he not been rescued by Ahikam ben Shaphan from the mob before which he was arraigned (xxvi. 4 ff.).

Jeremiah was equally heretical, from the standpoint of his contemporaries, in his teaching concerning the ark of the covenant; which they regarded as the actual abode of Yahweh and the seat of his power, and which, therefore, in spite of their disregard of his will, they guarded with the utmost jealousy. In defiance of this supersti-

<sup>11</sup> Giesebrecht brackets iii. 14-18 entire, but explains (p. 17) that 14-16 is an excerpt from a genuine prophecy, probably that in ch. xxxi.

tion, the prophet, speaking of the better future, says, "In those days they shall no longer say, The ark of Yahweh's covenant! nor shall it come to mind; nay, they shall not miss it, and it shall not be remade" (iii. 16).

Jeremiah, like Amos (v. 21 ff.) and Isaiah (i. 10 ff.), taught that the offerings prescribed by the Hebrew ritual, in themselves considered, were worthless as a means of securing the favor of the Deity. In vi. 20 he makes Yahweh say, "Of what value, then, to me is incense come from Sheba, and the fine cane from a far country? Your burnt offerings are no pleasure, nor are your sacrifices acceptable to me." The same doctrine reappears in xiv. 12: "When they fast, I will not listen to their cry; and when they offer burnt offering and oblation I will show them no favor." These are strange statements to come from one who had not only been reared in priestly circles, but had himself lived by the sanctuary; but they do not represent the extent to which Jeremiah broke with his order as well as the rest of his people. In vii. 22 f., speaking in the name of Yahweh, he makes the startling declaration, "I spake not with your fathers, neither did I command them, when I brought them forth from the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offering and sacrifice; but this thing I commanded them, saying, Listen to my voice, and I will be to you God, and ye shall be to me a people; and walk in all the way that I command you, that it may be well with you." This has been interpreted as meaning merely that, in the Sinaitic legislation, the stress is not on the ritual, but on the terms of the covenant there made, and such an interpretation might, perhaps, be defended, if it were supported by the internal evidence of the legislation itself; since, however, the ceremonial laws can easily be shown to be later than the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxi.-xxiii.), and especially since Jeremiah, in the next chapter (v. 8), in reply to an appeal to the Law, accuses the scribes of handling a deceitful pen, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the prophet here denies the Mosaic authorship and the divine authority of any regulations "concerning burnt offering and sacrifice."

In view of the prophet's attitude toward the place and the forms of worship it is not difficult to guess what he thought and said about the rite by which Israelites were admitted to the privileges of citizenship, circumcision. He refers to it three times (iv. 4; vi. 10; ix. 24/25 f.), and always in terms clearly showing that he attached no serious importance to its observance. In ix. 24/25 f. he calls attention to the fact that it was not a distinctively Hebrew institution,

and declares that, except as the symbol of a spiritual condition, it is as useless to a Jew as it is to an Egyptian.

It is evident that Jeremiah made little account of the externals of religion.<sup>12</sup> He was not, however, a mere iconoclast. He insisted upon a circumcision of the heart (iv. 4). He encouraged his people, also, to seek Yahweh, promising them that, when they came to him with their whole hearts, bringing an offering of sincere devotion, he would hear and help them (xxix. 12 f.). The efficacy of such approaches to Yahweh is finely pictured in xvii. 7 ff., where the prophet says, "Blessed is the man that trusteth in Yahweh, that hath Yahweh for his support! He is like a tree planted by the water, that sendeth its roots to the stream; so that he hath no fear when heat cometh, but his foliage is green. Even in the year of a drought he doth not despair or cease to yield fruit."

The return to Yahweh preached by Jeremiah involved, secondly, a radical reformation in life and conduct. The necessity of such a reformation is evident from the prophet's utterances, already cited, with reference to the moral condition of his people. Their persistent violation of the will of Yahweh as revealed in the teachings of his messengers had made it impossible for him, so long as he remained true to his nature, to show them any favor. Jeremiah, therefore, endeavored to persuade them to cease the practice of the sins by which they had alienated their God, and so act that he might see his will reflected in their lives and thus be moved to complacency toward them. Sometimes the requirement to "listen to [obey] the voice of Yahweh," a favorite expression with Jeremiah (iii. 13, 25; vii. 23; etc.), denotes or includes the acceptance of the prophetic standard of morality. In vii. 23, as well as in xi. 3 f., he evidently has in mind especially the Deuteronomic legislation, which, when these passages

<sup>12</sup> There are a few passages in the book of Jeremiah which cannot be harmonized with the above statement. Among them are xxxi. 14 and xxxiii. 14 ff., in which there is manifested far greater regard for priests and offerings than has hitherto been discovered. A closer study of these passages, however, and a careful comparison of their content with that of xviii. 18 and xxiii. 5 ff., will convince the student that they represent, not Jeremiah, but a later writer who cherished ideas respecting religion similar to those of the prophet's enemies, and who considered it his duty to supplement their endeavors to prevent the wayward priest from teaching the contrary. The long passage (xvii. 19 ff.) on the observance of the sabbath, in which the subject of offerings also receives passing attention (v. 26), as its resemblance to Neh. xiii. 15 ff. clearly indicates, is from the same source. On the passages here cited see Gieseler; also Driver, *ILOT*.

were written, had just been discovered and promulgated.<sup>13</sup> See also the expression "amend your ways" or "deeds" (vii. 3, 5; xviii. 11; etc.). In most cases the prophet's teaching takes the form of condemnation of the evil practices of his time, and demands or exhortations that the corresponding virtues be substituted for them. On one occasion he presented to the king (Zedekiah) a programme of reformation, or statement of terms on which Yahweh would grant him and his people a new lease of life and prosperity. These terms were: "Do justice and righteousness, and rescue the spoiled from the hand of the oppressor. Moreover, the stranger, the orphan, and the widow thou shalt not distress or abuse; nor shalt thou shed innocent blood in this place" (xxii. 3). It was the failure of the nation, although they were at first frightened into temporarily releasing their Hebrew slaves, to meet these requirements, that stirred the prophet to one of his severest denunciations (xxxiv. 8 ff.). The most instructive passage bearing on this point, however, is vii. 3 ff., where the necessity of morality in addition to the abandonment of idolatry is strongly emphasized. The words used, some of which have already been quoted, are: "Thus saith Yahweh of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your works, and I will let you dwell in this place. Trust not in deceptive words, saying, It is Yahweh's temple, Yahweh's temple, Yahweh's temple! for, if ye will thoroughly amend your ways and your works, if ye will indeed do justice one with another, not oppressing the stranger, the orphan, and the widow, or going after other gods to your hurt; then I will let you dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, henceforth forever. Lo! ye trust in deceptive words without profit. What? steal, kill, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and sacrifice to Baal, and go after other gods that ye know not, and come and stand before me in this house which is called by my name, and say, We are saved"? It is clear that, according to Jeremiah, nothing could take the place of the observance of the dictates of social and personal morality; but that those who were faithful to these requirements were sure of the favor and blessing of the Almighty.

Jeremiah taught, in general, that those who trusted in Yahweh would lack for nothing good (vi. 16; vii. 23; xvii. 7 f.; etc.); but usually, when addressing his rebellious countrymen, he restricted the

<sup>13</sup> The expression "I will be to you God," etc., or its equivalent, is found in Ex. vi. 7; Deu. xxvi. 17 f.; xxix. 12/13. "Be well with" is frequent in Deuteronomy (iv. 40; v. 16; vi. 18; etc.), but is found only twice elsewhere (Gen. xii. 13; xl. 14) in the Pentateuch. See Graf on Jer. vii. 23.

promise with which he accompanied his warning or exhortation to relief from actual distress or danger. Thus, in some passages (xviii. 8; xxv. 6; xxvi. 3, 13; xxxvi. 3) the inducement to reformation is put into the form of a mere suggestion that Yahweh may still be moved to repent of the evil that he has planned and do his people no harm. In others (iv. 1; vii. 3, 7; etc.) he says that, if they will return to Yahweh, they will not be removed, but will be allowed to remain in their own country. In xxii. 3 f. he becomes more positive, promising that, if the king will govern justly, the kingdom shall not only continue but enjoy renewed prosperity. Finding that the nation as a whole was incorrigible, the prophet was obliged to leave them to their fate, excepting those only who had assisted him or sympathized with him in his mission; and they were not encouraged to expect, for the time being, much beyond the preservation of their lives. See xxxix. 15 ff., but especially xlv. 2 ff., where this divine message to Baruch, the prophet's friend and scribe, is recorded: "If thou seekest for thyself great things, seek them not; for lo! I will bring evil upon all flesh, saith Yahweh; yet shalt thou escape with thy life in all places whither thou goest."

The prophet witnessed the fulfilment of his predictions with reference to his country. He saw Jerusalem taken and Judah reduced to a Babylonian province, while many of its inhabitants were led captive in the train of the conqueror. At the same time, however, he perceived that the overthrow of the Jewish state was a necessary preparation for the foundation of a new community whose influence would be universal and its duration everlasting. He had already had inspired intimations that this was to be the outcome. Early in the reign of Zedekiah, if not before, he had begun to teach that there was to be a restoration. Soon after the deportation of Jehoiachin (Jeconiah) and those who went with the king to Babylon (2 Kgs. xxiv. 14 ff.) he was instructed to say of the captives: "Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, . . . I will set my eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them back to this land; yea, I will build them up and not tear them down, I will plant and not uproot them" (xxiv. 6). A little later, writing to prevent the captives from indulging the false hopes excited by other prophets, he said (xxix. 10 f.), "Thus saith Yahweh, When seventy years are completed for Babylon, I will visit you and fulfil concerning you my good word, to restore you to this place. For I know the thoughts that I am thinking concerning you, saith Yahweh, thoughts of peace and not of evil, to give you a hopeful future." Just before the final capture

of Jerusalem, when the Chaldeans had surrounded the city, by divine direction he bought of his cousin Hanamel a field at Anathoth as a sign to his people that they or their descendants should again "buy fields for money, and write deeds and seal them, and summon witnesses, in the land of Benjamin, and in the environs of Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, and in the cities of the highlands, and in the cities of the lowlands, and in the cities of the southland; for I will restore their captives, saith Yahweh" (xxxii. 44). See also xxiii. 3; xxxii. 37; xxxiii. 10 ff. Moreover, he taught that the glory of the event promised would eclipse even that of the deliverance from Egypt (xxiii. 7 f.).

The passage just quoted (xxxii. 44) would seem to indicate that Jeremiah's expectations were confined to the southern kingdom. This, however, is not the case; for, among his earliest prophecies occurs a passage (iii. 14) in which the prospect of restoration to Yahweh's favor is represented as brighter for Israel than for Judah, and in one of the latest he dwells with evident pleasure on the gracious promises there given to his northern brethren. This is his picture of Israel's future: "Thus saith Yahweh, . . . I will rebuild thee and thou shalt be rebuilt, fair Israel. Again shalt thou adorn thyself with thy tabrets and go forth to dance with the merrymakers; again shalt thou plant vineyards in the mountains of Samaria; they that plant shall [both] plant and enjoy" (xxxi. 2, 4 f.). Thus it appears that Israel as well as Judah is to return to Palestine. In fact, they are coupled together as the joint recipients of the divine favor. Thus, in xxxi. 27 f., Yahweh says, "Lo! days come, saith Yahweh, when I will sow the kingdom [lit. house] of Israel and the kingdom of Judah with the seed of men and the seed of cattle, and it shall be that, as I have watched over them to pluck up and break down, so will I watch over them to build and plant, saith Jehovah." See also xxxiii. 7.

In spite of his tenderness for Israel, however, the prophet gives Judah the preëminence under the new, as under the original, order of things. In the first place, Jerusalem is to recover the glory and ascendancy that it enjoyed under Solomon. "It shall be a joyous name, an honor, and an ornament, in the sight of all the nations of the earth; which shall hear all the good that I will do to it [orig. them], and fear and tremble on account of all the good and all the peace that I will procure for it" (xxxiii. 9). It will also again become the religious centre of Palestine. "The watchmen on the hills of Ephraim shall cry, Arise and let us go up to Zion, to Yahweh our God" (xxxi. 6). Finally, a son of David, arising, will again

make it the political as well as the religious capital of the Hebrews, according to xxiii. 5 f., which says, "Lo! days come, saith Yahweh, when I will raise up to David a righteous shoot, and he shall rule as king, and show wisdom, and do justice and righteousness, in the land. In his days shall Judah be helped and Israel dwell secure; and this is the name by which they shall call him, Yahweh-is-our-righteousness."

One of the passages above quoted (xxxiii. 9) suggests the question, Whether Jeremiah taught that the other nations were to share in the blessings in store for re-united Israel. The answer must be affirmative. The possibility of the participation of the neighboring peoples in the future of Yahweh's chosen is distinctly asserted in xii. 16, where Yahweh says, "It shall come to pass that, if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, swearing by my name, As Yahweh liveth! even as they have taught my people to swear by Baal, then shall they be rebuilt (after having been plucked up for the injuries done to Israel) in the midst of my people." In iv. 2 the realization of this possibility seems to be,<sup>14</sup> and in xvi. 19 it certainly is, predicted. In the latter passage Jeremiah, triumphing for the moment over all the obstacles to his faith, exclaims, "Yahweh, my strength, and my stronghold, and my refuge, in the day of affliction, to thee shall nations come from the ends of the earth; yea, they shall say, Surely our fathers inherited frauds, vanities, among which there is none that profiteth."<sup>15</sup> This means nothing less than the conversion of the world to the worship and service of the true and only God.

In xxxi. 6 to go to Yahweh is equivalent to going to Jerusalem. It is therefore probable that, when Jeremiah described the nations as coming from the ends of the earth and renouncing their hereditary divinities for the God of the Hebrews (xvi. 19), he thought of them as making pilgrimages to the city, or, perhaps, as sometimes migrating from their ancestral homes to Palestine. See xii. 16. Not that he meant to teach that Yahweh could be worshipped acceptably only at the Jewish capital. He had learned during his long contest with his people that religion was not a matter of altars and ceremonies, but that he, and therefore any one, could come to God anywhere and without the intervention of priest or ritual. His refusal to confine

<sup>14</sup> Giesebrecht maintains that the pronoun "him" refers to Israel, not Yahweh, but admits that the nations could hardly glory in Israel unless they had a share in the favor of Israel's God. Comp. Streane.

<sup>15</sup> Giesebrecht insists upon the genuineness of this verse, but removes it from its present connection and substitutes it for xvii. 11-13.

Yahweh to Zion, to accept the popular superstition respecting the ark, to recognize the priestly ritual of his time as divinely ordained, or to ascribe any efficacy to the rite of circumcision has been noted. He gives more positive instruction on the subject. In his letter to the earlier Jewish exiles (xxix.), to which reference has also been made, he first instructs them to pray for the peace of the city to which they have been deported, implying that their prayers will be heard and answered to their advantage (*v.* 7); and then exhorts them in Yahweh's name to seek him, expressly promising them that their search shall not be in vain (*vv.* 12 f.):<sup>16</sup> *i.e.* the prophet here teaches that, though driven from their country, the exiles are still under the eye of Yahweh, and though deprived of the means of fulfilling the requirements of their ritual, they may still enjoy access to their God. But the doctrine that man can come in the spirit directly to God is only one side of a great truth. Jeremiah gave his people the other also, teaching that Yahweh could come directly to each of his worshippers, and that, in the good time coming, this would be the universal experience. These are the words of this great promise (xxx. 34): "They shall teach no longer each his neighbor, and each his brother, saying, Know Yahweh! for they shall all know me from their least to their greatest, saith Yahweh." They transform the religion of the Hebrews into a religion for mankind.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The word "go" in *v.* 12, if it is the correct reading (which Giesebrecht denies), since it cannot be interpreted as requiring a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, must refer to a practice of praying in secret (*Dan.* vi. 10), or, as Ewald prefers to think, in certain places where numbers assembled for the purpose.

<sup>17</sup> The above discussion of the future of Israel and the world takes account only of the passages bearing on the subject found in such portions of the book of Jeremiah as may safely be attributed to the prophet. The teaching of the parts of the book whose genuineness is denied or questioned is sometimes different. In the first place, there are certain passages (*iv.* 27 b; *v.* 10 a<sup>8</sup>, 18) in which a promise of mercy is inserted, not as a stimulus to human effort, but as a modification of the divine severity. The passages bearing on the return from Babylon are *xvi.* 14 f.; *xxix.* 14; *xxx.* 3, 10 f., 16 ff.; *xxxi.* 10 f., 23 f., 35 ff.; *xxxiii.* 23 ff.; *xlvi.* 27 f.; *i.* 2 ff., 17 ff. The first is a mistaken quotation from *ch.* xxxiii. (7 f.). The second, which promises that captives located in a certain city (*v.* 7) shall be gathered from all the nations whither they have been driven, and is therefore evidently an interpolation, has no doctrinal peculiarities. In those that remain the deliverance foretold is usually represented either as a triumph over the nation's enemies (*xxx.* 10 f., 16 ff.; *xxxi.* 10 f.; *xlvi.* 27 f.; *i.* 17 ff.) or the fulfilment of a covenant (*xxxi.* 35 ff.; *xxxiii.* 23 ff.): in a word, they betray the influence of the particularism which Jeremiah repudiated. The same influence shows itself in some of the passages (*iii.* 18; *xxxi.* 1; *xxxiii.* 14, 24 ff.; *i.* 4 f.) in which Judah and Israel are coupled together as participants in the restoration. Where

the future of Jerusalem is described, it is the religious, rather than the political, importance of the city that is emphasized. Thus, iii. 17 says that it is to be called "the throne of Yahweh" (see also xxxi. 12); and in xxxiii. 16 ff. it usurps the name, Yahweh-is-our-righteousness, which Jeremiah gave to the shoot from the stock of David whose advent he predicted, while this unique figure loses himself in an endless line of featureless Davidites. See also xxx. 9, 21. The nations seem to have been overlooked in these unguine prophecies, except iii. 17. The "servant of Jehovah" in xxx. 10 and xlvi. 27 has no mission to them. Not so with the priests, whom Jeremiah mentioned only to upbraid them. They and their interests here receive marked attention. The author of xxxiii. 14 ff., like the prophet's persecutors (xviii. 18), cannot conceive of a religion without a ritual and priests to administer it. He therefore represents Yahweh as announcing not only that "David shall never want a man to sit on the throne of the house of Israel," but as adding, "neither shall the Levitic priests want a man before me to offer burnt offerings, and burn vegetable offerings, and perform sacrifices" (xxxiii. 17 f.). Finally, Yahweh declares that his promise to the Levites, like that to the house of David, is as sure as the order of nature (*zev.* 20 f.) and that the seed of the former, as well as those of the latter, shall rival the stars of heaven and the sand of the seashore for multitude (*v.* 22). In xxxi. 14 provision is made for the sustenance of this sacerdotal host. All this is in striking contrast with the breadth of Jeremiah; but the climax of narrowness is reached in xxx. 20, where the Israel of the future is described as a "congregation." See *Lev.* iv. 13; etc.

## On Integrating the Book of Isaiah.

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CICERO considered himself to have accomplished nothing in debate unless he had persuaded his opponent. Among the disputants on Isaiah, there are two classes who will never enjoy that felicity : those who rule out the supernatural, and those who lug it in. The first class should bear in mind that no one is likely to succeed, where Hitzig failed, in interpreting Isaiah without entering sympathetically into his religious convictions. Even if the existence of God should be accounted doubtful, it was the most certain of realities to our prophet. The second class should reflect that the spirit of the age pays little heed to arguments depending on such *a priori* assumptions as these : "If there is a God, he has revealed himself to us. If our Bible is his revelation, it is perfect and infallible. If our Lord cites an Old Testament book by its author's name, the question is settled for all real Christians." The last statement is palpably contrary to fact, unless the number of real Christians is fast diminishing.

The true middle ground, on which all can stand together and investigate the difficult questions connected with this great book, lies in a common determination to seek truth first and always. Men who look at the same facts from the same point of view ought not to remain hopelessly apart even in biblical science. We should frankly respect our honest differences of judgment, and examine dispassionately the data as they come to light, with utter fearlessness of results, and with a cheerful confidence that the final view, when gained, will be comprehensive enough to embrace the truth in every partial view. For my own part, I long since gave up expecting to *prove* the unity of Isaiah. The differentiation of the book has been a long and slow process ; the integration, if it ever takes place, will embrace many particulars, some of which are now *sub judice*. Twenty years ago, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, I suggested that the process might extend

over a century. As the paragraph is important for my present purpose, I reproduce it for substance (*Bib. Sac.*, Oct., 1881, p. 662):

Modern science ought to become less and less polemical. The way to treat a man who fails to see what you see is not to rail at him, but to pour in the light. That will be a happy day when religious discussions lose out the controversial aspect, and become simply investigations, all parties to which are equally eager to buy the truth. And perhaps, among these investigations, the scattered fragments of the peerless book of Isaiah, which have been tossed about the learned world for a century past, may be gathered up, and fitted together, so that a century hence the evidence of their unity will be manifest.

At present, I should modify this forecast a very little. I venture to anticipate a general belief in the Isaian authorship of most of the book as we have it, minor changes and additions having been made in the course of transmission. All will agree that such evidence for this conclusion as exists ought to be presented and fairly weighed. It is the aim of this article to give the outlines of that evidence, which will be found to be respectable in quantity and cumulative in character. The argument is not a chain, which must fall if a single link be broken; it resembles rather a multitude of pillars, all supporting a common conclusion. The first point to be examined is:

#### I. THE HISTORICAL SITUATION OF THE DISPUTED CHAPTERS.

Tradition is of two kinds, historical and critical. According to historical tradition, the book of Isaiah is by Isaiah; according to critical tradition, it is mainly later than Isaiah. Now a critical tradition is simply the survival of a critical theory. It has this advantage, that it represents a sifting process which has been applied to historical tradition as well as to all other material; but it has the disadvantage, no matter how venerable it becomes, of furnishing no presumption against any modicum of fresh historical evidence, upon which it acts like emery dust upon a precious stone. Criticism, in short, is a set of methods, yielding secure results only when applied to known facts by sound reasoning.

I respectfully claim the privilege of using these methods. For I believe in all the good new things: in glosses and variants and lacunæ; in rhythmical suggestions and Septuagint readings; in transpositions and editorial additions and critical conjectures. Above all, I believe that the historical situation gives the key to the true interpretation of a prophecy. The theory of an exilian Isaiah originated in what we now perceive to have been a radical, though unavoidable,

misreading of the facts of history. The real facts are known only in part; but I would suggest as a title for one of our burning questions, "the shrinkage of Cyrus."

A few years ago, the student beheld this great conqueror pervading not only all Western Asia, but all Deutero-Isaiah. As two opponents discussing a legal question may go to court on an agreed statement of facts, so, from the standpoint of history, it was a mere question of detail whether the events of Cyrus's time were predicted nearly two centuries back, or were utilized by a prophet of his own day. The facts were these:

Cyrus was a Zoroastrian monotheist. With devout zeal for the one God, he overthrew the idols of Babylon, having effected entrance into the city (after a long siege) by drawing off the Euphrates, and marching under the hundred gates, to the consternation of the revelling inhabitants. At the very beginning of his reign, he showed his regard for Jahwe by sending home Zerubbabel and the Hebrew exiles with their sacred vessels. He built a new temple in Jerusalem at his own charges; and even in the days of Darius, his faithful decree still protected the Jews from their enemies.

Observe next, not in detail, but in outline, how Cyrus made his presence felt throughout Isa. 40-66. In chap. 41, he is the righteous man from the East, and Jahwe makes the Syrian desert a pool of water, so that Zerubbabel can get through. In 43, Jahwe sends Cyrus to Babylon, to rescue the Jewish captives from the Chaldeans. In 44, Cyrus is his Shepherd and rebuilds Jerusalem. In 46, he is the vulture from the East, before whom Bel bows down and Nebo stoops. In 48, he executes his pleasure on Babylon and his arm is on the Chaldeans. In 51, Jahwe's ransomed return (from Babylon, of course), and come with singing to Zion. In 52, the captives depart (from Babylon, of course) in solemn procession, bearing the very vessels enumerated in the first chapter of Ezra. In 54, the new foundations of Jerusalem are laid with sapphires, thanks to Cyrus's munificence. Even in what is now called Trito-Isaiah, the same subject is continued. In 58, the exiles sent forth by Cyrus repair the breach and restore the paths to dwell in. In 60, Cyrus is chief of the strangers who build the walls of Zion, and of the kings who minister to her with gold and frankincense. The message in 62 is "Prepare ye the way of the people, say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh," — in *other* words, the company of Sheshbazzar. And finally in 66, like an echo of chap. 40, the assurance is renewed: "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I

comfort you, and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem," — that is, when Cyrus sends you there. All this, and very much more of the same sort, was steadfastly believed only a generation ago.

I could wish no stronger proof of my statement that a critical theory, however venerable, is powerless against historical evidence, than the adjustment which began to take place when the inscriptions of Cyrus and Nabuna'id were discovered. I say began, for the process is still going on. Great bodies move slowly; the great body of Old Testament scholars is divided at present, according to various methods of adjusting the new knowledge to the old. The following may turn out to be largely if not wholly true. (For a different view, see McCurdy: *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*.)

Cyrus, whether or not a Zoroastrian, was by no means a monotheist. He never laid siege to Babylon; there was no need, for the people opened the gates to his general Gobryas and hailed himself as their deliverer. Whereas Nabuna'id had neglected the worship of the gods of Babylon, Cyrus reinstated it with splendor. So far from ascribing his conquests to Jahwe, he ascribes them to Marduk. The captured gods of other peoples he restored to them, but he did nothing whatever for the Jews. The whole account of his decree sending them back to Jerusalem with their sacred vessels we owe to our pious but unscientific friend, the Chronicler. Zerubbabel was not a returned exile, and no return ever took place until Ezra led his company back in the fifth century, or perhaps the fourth century.

But furthermore, there never was an exile in the traditional sense. These children of Israel were a peculiar people; they first occupied the land under Joshua in a very peculiar way, marching *en masse* like a crusading host, while the enemy melted before them; and the men of Judah were carried into captivity in the same wholesale fashion, leaving deserted villages which they reoccupied under Zerubbabel! The one account is as unhistorical as the other. A few thousands of Jews were taken by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, but a much greater dispersion had been long going on, from various causes. As a result, there were Jews in the four quarters of the earth, and it was the hope of the prophets, as of the modern Zionists, that Israel's scattered families would return to the Holy Land. As a matter of fact, the post-exilic community in Jerusalem grew up there from the survivors of the pre-exilic community, reinforced from all the region round about. They built the temple themselves and carried on their own worship. Neither the kings of Persia nor the Jews in Babylon had much to do with them.

Now, if we could be sure of all this, it would be easy to show that Isaian critics for the last hundred years have been following the wrong trail. At any rate, I have succeeded in hinting at the shrinkage of Cyrus.

But the case against Deutero-Isaiah can be made out very strongly, whatever we think of Cyrus. Let us return to chap. 40-66 and try to ascertain their natural testimony to the historical situation.

I believe (sparingly) in transpositions; there is a clear case in the narrative chapters, 36-39. Merodach-baladan's embassy, consequently also Hezekiah's sickness, must have preceded Sennacherib's overthrow. This brings chap. 40 into connection with chap. 37.

It is constantly assumed, without a particle of evidence, that Isaiah's prophetic activity closed in or about the year 701; that is to say, just when he had gained the supreme point of vantage for his greatest work; the work whose records, by *prima facie* evidence, lie before us in the very book which has always gone by his name. What is the situation in chap. 37? The great king has retreated, but not without devastating the land. "As for Hezekiah the Judean," says he, "forty-six of his fenced cities, the fortresses, and small towns in their vicinity without number, I besieged, I took. 200,150 persons I brought forth from the midst of them and allotted as spoil."

The words have become familiar, but the picture they draw — have we made it real in our minds? Look at those desolate *cities of Judah*, at the enormous deportation, far greater (allowing for exaggeration) than that effected by Sargon from Samaria, and ask if this is not the time to proclaim, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people"; the time to favor Zion, yea, the set time to "say unto the *cities of Judah*, Behold your God." And Jahwe is coming; who says he is marching at the head of the exiles? Not our author. Across the wilderness, as of old, cometh your God. Prepare for him as you would make ready for a great king. His glory shall be revealed, with good tidings to Zion; her warfare is ended, she hath received the double, namely, the severe chastisement which Isaiah had so often foretold; to the remnant, behold, Adonai Jahwe cometh, to feed his flock like a Shepherd.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The above was written before I had read Löhr (1878-80), who holds that Isaiah is the author of the book as a whole, and that he gives these indications of his own standpoint, but that he looks forward from it to the Babylonian captivity. This last, as I hope to show, is unnecessary. Löhr's three pamphlets, though little known, were mentioned by Delitzsch and Dillmann, and have also found

An explanation has been glanced at already for Isaiah's prophecies of the return of the exiles. The oneness of the twelve tribes and the hope of their reunion was a doctrine kept alive in the interest of religion as well as of patriotism. Even in the days of Tiglath-pileser, multitudes of the North Israelites had been carried into captivity. Sargon renewed the deportation, and Sennacherib shaved the land still closer. We cannot doubt that many thousands of these captives were sold into slavery and thus were dispersed in all directions. (See article, "Dispersion," in *Encyclopædia Biblica*.) The 49th chapter of Isaiah is a typical example of the prophecies to which I refer. Zion, whose children Sennacherib had carried off by scores of thousands, mourns in her bereavement, saying: "Jahwe has forsaken me; Adonai has forgotten me." Isaiah bids her lift up her eyes and behold her children flocking *from every quarter*, till the land is too narrow for them. "Lo, these shall come from far; and lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim," that is, Syene, to adopt Cheyne's excellent emendation. The fact that the standpoint in 49 is Palestinian, not Babylonian, is well worked out in Sellin's *Serubbabel* (1898), more successfully, it seems to me, than the contrary position is maintained by the same writer in his recent work (*Der Knecht Gottes bei Deuterojesaja*, 1901). Babylon is doubtless included, in 49<sup>13</sup>, among the lands of the dispersion, but only included. "These shall come from far" may mean Babylon, the far east; then follow the other three cardinal points, ending with Syene, the far south. Already in the 11th chapter, after mentioning Assyria, the foe at hand, Isaiah had boxed the compass in a similar back-handed, unseamanlike fashion. Adonai is to recover the remnant of his people from Egypt, Pathros, Cush, on the south; from Elam, Shinar, on the east; from Hamath, on the north; and from the coastlands of the west. The parallel is complete; and chap. 11 was conceded to Isaiah until long after chap. 49 had been taken from him. But there is a nearer parallel than chap. 11, for in 43<sup>3</sup> we read: "I will bring thy seed from the east and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back; bring my sons from far and my daughters from the end of the earth." It is plain, therefore, that the prophet, in all these passages, has his eye not simply upon the place in the elaborate and admirable bibliography which Prof. G. A. Smith has appended to his article, "Isaiah," in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

Two or three other points in my article have been anticipated by Kennedy (1891) and Douglas (1895).

captives in Babylonia, but upon the Dispersion in all lands. His geographical position was at Jerusalem, and he himself may well have been the Isaiah of Hezekiah's reign. And if he may have been, we ought to hold that he was, until the contrary is shown by conclusive evidence. For the historical tradition comes down to us from men on whom we ought to suppose in every case, until we have good reasons to the contrary, that the sunlight of external evidence was shining, to illuminate things which we see only through a glass darkly. One may fix his attention on almost any period of history, and find striking prefigurements of its development in the prophecies and visions of Scripture. The exegetes of the books of Daniel and Revelation have proved this to perfection. In like manner, when one takes up the third volume of either of those fascinating and powerful works, Stanley's *History of the Jewish Church*, and McCurdy's *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, he must be on his guard lest a historical presentation which appears to fit the facts so admirably be regarded as the only reasonable one. That this is not the case is already apparent, I hope; and this conclusion will be greatly strengthened when we pass from the historical situation in its external aspect, and examine

## II. THE RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF THE DISPUTED CHAPTERS.

Beginning with chap. 40, we find, just after the introductory verses already considered, a sustained polemic against idolatry. With characteristic promptness and thoroughness, the Chronicler represents Hezekiah as setting out to overthrow his father's paganism, in the first year, the first month, and the first day of his reign. Shortly after, all Israel that can be mustered keep the passover together, and then immediately have another feast, by going throughout all the cities of Judah to destroy and abolish every remnant of idolatry, with none to molest or make them afraid. Stade, Robertson Smith, and others have properly criticised this representation, claiming that Hezekiah's reforms came late in his reign, that they were far less radical, that they were bitterly opposed, and that the life-work of men like Isaiah and Micah was the chief cause of whatever efficiency they attained. These critics have also perceived the natural, almost inevitable, point of time when everything favored the reformation. Not when the dark shadow of Assyria threatened in the distance, or hung huge over the land; but when the sole deity of Israel's God had been gloriously vindicated in the downfall of the oppressor, —

this was the tide in the affairs of men which was taken at the flood. What doth hinder us to go one step farther? Hezekiah moved on the idols with Isaiah at his right hand. "Under the influence of Isaiah," says Professor Moore (*Enc. Bib.*, article "Idolatry"), "Hezekiah probably made an effort to root out the idols." Why not, then, under the inspiration of the stirring words which are summarized in this very chapter? "Behold," cried the prophet, "your eyes have seen our God bring princes to nothing" (40<sup>24</sup>). "He only blows upon them and they wither, and the storm-wind chases them away like chaff. To whom then will ye liken God? To the image a workman has made?"

Note just here the parallel with Isaiah's pregnant word, *relating to the overthrow of Sennacherib*, at the close of chap. 17; I like to call it Isaiah's ocean symphony. "Like the surge of many waters the nations are surging; but *He* throttles them; — and they flee far away and are chased like mountain chaff before the wind, and as whirling [dust] before the storm-wind." The rebuke of idolatry is renewed in chap. 41, with the mingled sarcasm and grandeur of which Isaiah is master. We meet it again in every one of the next seven chapters, 42–48, also in 57, 65, and 66. This, too, is the meaning of the figure in 55<sup>11</sup>; compare Jeremiah's "broken cisterns" and "fountain of living waters." It was a thorn in the side of the original Cyrus-theory that several of these passages assume the existence of the temple with its ritual. Consequently, Deutero-Isaiah has shrunk greatly, the last eleven or more chapters of the twenty-seven being assigned to Palestine in the days of the second temple; but this explanation cannot apply to 43<sup>22</sup>, which is Babylonian if anything is; even Cheyne says so. Here Israel's sin is that of omission; neglect of burnt-offerings, sacrifices, and oblations; how could that be charged in Babylon? I have studied various attempts to evade the plain fact that this is a reproof for neglect of the sacrifices, and I find none of them even plausible. The apparent contradiction to passages like 1<sup>11</sup>, which speak slightly of ritual observances, will be no stumbling-block to the Christian pastor, who finds it needful at one time to rebuke his people for making all their religion consist in church-going, at another time for neglecting public worship.

Combined with the denunciation of idolatry in these chapters, we often find a challenge to false gods to foretell the future, or to bring events to pass, both which the God of Israel has done, as the people are well aware. And when were mightier deeds wrought for Israel, against all human probability, or when was the word of the Lord

more boldly staked and more signally fulfilled than at the close of the eighth century before Christ? How fresh and timely sounds the voice of Isaiah, when we connect it thus with his life-work and contrast it with the boastful threats of Rabshakeh. "The former things, behold, they have come to pass; ye are my witnesses, saith Jahwe." "Fear not, thou worm Jacob; thou shalt thresh mountains and beat them small. Behold, they that strive with thee shall be as nothing and shall perish." "Declare the things to come, that we may know that ye are gods; yea, do good or do evil." "Let them bring forth *their* witnesses; or, let them hear, and say, It is truth."

Professor Skinner is careful to remind us that there was idolatry in Israel in the Exile, for which he refers to Ezekiel. Now we are not obliged to answer that Ezekiel wrote in the *former* part of the Exile, and that it would be harder to prove the prevalence of idolatry among the captives fifty years later. It is sufficient to reply that there was idolatry in Israel in the days of Isaiah, that it is the case of Isaiah which is just now before the court, and that the historical tradition has the right of way. If the latter can justify itself, the critical tradition will be politely bowed out of court. This at least is clear, that the prophecies against idolatry contained in thirteen out of our twenty-seven chapters, when looked at in a general way, are appropriate to the period of Hezekiah; and I can only hint at the importance of examining the many details in the description of various idolatrous rites, some of which are of uncertain origin and significance. We need all the light which can be thrown upon them from the customs of every period to which they might be referred. The few allusions to Babylon and to Cyrus in chaps. 40-66 I will take up presently.

After the retreat of Sennacherib and the beginning of recovery from his ravages, it is no marvel if the patriotic spirit in Jerusalem rose to fever heat. The scattered families were to come back to Jahwe's land, and as Assyria had been humbled before them, so they would rule over every nation. The feeling of proud superiority to other peoples, which is often held to be a mark of post-exilian date, is rather the mark of human nature in all ages — witness the dominant politics of the three most Christian nations to-day. Isaiah, as both statesman and prophet, would seek to turn this rising tide of patriotism into nobler channels than those of hatred and exclusiveness. For this purpose he might use the identical motive employed by many patriotic preachers in America to-day. "It is true we are the grandest nation on earth, but only because God has chosen us. And why? That we might carry his salvation to the ends of the world." The

lofty conception of the Servant of Jahwe was thus adapted to the needs of Hezekiah's age, and may have been the fruit of the new religious life promoted by his reforms. True, it rose far beyond the spiritual plane which the mass of the people had then reached, and this is precisely what we are told in Isa. 42, where the actual Israel is contrasted with the ideal. Blind and deaf is the servant of Jahwe; and so Isaiah's inaugural vision receives one more fulfilment. I have endeavored to show elsewhere (in this JOURNAL, 1895, pp. 98-102) that the original Servant of Jahwe is Abraham; and that the conception is extended to Israel, only because, according to the solidarity of Oriental thought, Abraham lives on, and works on, in Israel. But I strangely overlooked, even when developing this conception from Isa. 41<sup>8</sup>, the support given by the preceding and following context. The old exegesis of the opening paragraph of 41 needs only to be strengthened and supplemented. At the close of chap. 40 we read: "They that wait on Jahwe shall renew their strength." Now then, says Jahwe, let the heathen peoples renew their strength. "Let them come near, let us come together to the test, while I put over against them my servant Israel, whom I summoned from the east and called in righteousness. Before him I give up nations. When the five kings were confederate, my servant pursued them and passed over safely. When the armies of Pharaoh came against him, the depths covered them. Yesterday the hosts of Sennacherib vanished like dust and driven stubble. Who hath wrought it, *calling* the generations of Israel from the beginning? I, Jahwe, the first, and with the last I am He. Tremble, ye ends of the earth; but draw near and renew your strength. Get you a fresh set of idols, the carpenter encouraging the goldsmith. But thou, Israel, my servant, seed of Abraham my friend; fear thou not, for with thee am I. . . . Let the judgment go on. Bring forth your strong ones, saith the King of *Jacob*. An abomination is he that chooseth you. I have raised up one from the north and he is come; from the sun-rising my servant Israel that calleth upon my name. Let the great king send again his *seginim*; my servant will trample them down as the potter treadeth clay."

Then the prophet seizes the new impulse of patriotic life and turns it into the new channel of the divine call. "Behold, my servant Israel; judgment to the nations he shall proclaim; nor fail till he have set righteousness in the earth; far-off coasts are waiting for his Torah."

König, in *The Exiles' Book of Consolation*, 1899, maintains (against

Duhm, Cheyae, Laue, and others) an internal connection between chaps. 41 and 42, thus (p. 9, see more fully at p. 62): "41<sup>25-29</sup> is a parallel to 41<sup>1-7</sup>. After the emphasis laid upon the calling of the hero from the east (41<sup>2-4</sup>), Israel might have been perplexed about their own calling; hence, for the sake of assuring them, 41<sup>1-7</sup> is followed by vv.<sup>8-11</sup>, a consolatory passage (*vocavi te*). And in like manner 41<sup>25-29</sup>, in which once more the call of the eastern conqueror is emphasized, might well be followed again by a section dealing with Israel (42<sup>1-11</sup>)." But the view I have just presented preserves this connection in a much simpler and more natural way. And yet some critic will say, with a touch of scorn: "If Israel instead of Cyrus is the hero from the east in 41<sup>2</sup>, is Israel the vulture from the east in 46<sup>11</sup>?" No, I reply; mark the context and parallels of this latter passage; then the interpretation at once appears. "Saying, My counsel shall stand and I will do all my pleasure. Calling a vulture from the east, the man of my counsel from a far country. Yea, I have spoken, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed, I will also do it." Now compare 14<sup>29</sup>: "Surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand"; also 10<sup>5-6</sup>: "Ho, Asshur! rod of *mine* anger. I send him; I give him a charge. Shall the axe boast against the hewer?" Sennacherib is the vulture, and all three passages fit him; even the verbal agreements are surprising. As a mere sample of other readjustments required, look at 43<sup>14</sup>: "I send to Babylon, and bring down all of them as fugitives, even the Chaldaeans, in the ships of their rejoicing." Most modern scholars are as sure that this refers to Cyrus as though it read, "I send Cyrus to Babylon." But when did the men of Babylon flee to their ships before him? or when, for fear of Cyrus (46<sup>1</sup>) were Bel and Nebo hurried away on beasts that hardly bore them? Nay, it is Sennacherib who furnishes a striking parallel to both these passages. In his account of the campaign of 700, against a man in whose fate Isaiah took a special interest, it stands written: "Merodach-baladan feared the war-cry of my powerful arms and the advance of my strong battle line. The gods who ruled his land, in their shrines on shipboard he brought; to the midst of the sea he conveyed them; he escaped like a bird."

A word here on the obvious objection that too much is being hung on a single peg, despite the fate of Eliakim's family. The present writer may be accused of holding the name of Sennacherib so close to his eyes as to shut out everything else. A couple of quotations may serve to repel this charge, or to distribute it among others.

The first is from Budde's *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, p. 155 f.: "The imagination can scarcely measure the depth and strength of the impression made by this marvellous deliverance. Never had the need been greater, the foe never mightier. Yahweh had allowed all human help to exhaust itself, in order to show all the more palpably that He alone could help, and that He was superior to any foe. . . . And it was no chance stroke, for repeatedly and long before he had announced it through his prophet Isaiah. The prophet's reputation must have risen mightily, and the word of the hoary-headed sage must have been listened to with a respect never accorded him in youth or the prime of life." Evidently Budde thinks that Isaiah's activity did *not* culminate in 701. To the same purport speaks Kittel in his *History of the Hebrews* (English translation, vol. ii. p. 371, cf. p. 369). "In any case, the reputation of Yahvé and of Zion would necessarily gain infinitely by the marvellous issue of the struggle. Isaiah had been right when he said that the Hill of Zion was higher than all hills, and that Yahvé would protect his dwelling-place. It is extremely probable that he now enjoyed the triumph of seeing the disappearance of the idols which still remained everywhere in the hands of the common people, and that Hezekiah, by way of honouring Yahvé of Jerusalem, proceeded with greater earnestness than before with the work of suppressing the high places."

It need not concern us to reconcile this judgment with the remark on the previous page: "Of Hezekiah's further proceedings [after Sennacherib's retreat] we can learn nothing. Isaiah, too, vanishes in 701, and we see no more of him." Let it suffice that the suggestions of these two eminent scholars exactly fit the interpretation which I have proposed above. But the overthrow of Sennacherib is not the only historical point of contact for chaps. 40-66 with the times of Isaiah. At present, a very troublesome question for the critics, and a divisive one, in the true sense of that much-abused word, is the problem of interpreting the sharp and stern addresses, alternating with tender expostulations and gracious promises, the best example occurring at 57<sup>13-15a</sup> followed by 57<sup>17a-21</sup>. Who are accosted here? Samaritans? heathen? Jews in exile? Jews of the return? The difficulties thicken about every hypothesis. But may there not be a good historical basis underlying the account in 2 Chr. 30 of the divisions in North Israel? If we cannot corroborate the narrative, much less can we contradict what seems so natural an event under all the circumstances. It was eminently fitting that a king of Judah, on whom Jahwe had set his seal by a great deliverance, should act as

the religious head of all Israel and seek to unite the tribes in the ancient ritual of the passover. It was to be expected that some would accept the invitation while others laughed it to scorn. Add to these two elements that of the foreign colonists, with their new and strange idolatries (2 K. 17), and there is not, I verily believe, a passage or a phrase in Isa. 57 with which the situation does not harmonize. Note especially the plain references to apostasy which connect so well with the southern view of the northern religion, e.g. 57<sup>11</sup>: "Of whom hast thou been afraid and feared? for thou art treacherous, and hast not remembered me nor laid it to thy heart. Is it not so? I was silent, yea, a long time, and thou didst not fear me." Cf. 65<sup>11</sup>: "As for you that forsake Jahwe, that forget my holy mountain, that spread a table for Gad, and fill up mixed wine to Meni,"—old Syrian deities. The sudden transition from 57<sup>3-13a</sup> to 57<sup>13b-21</sup> reminds us of the burden of Hosea.

Now in answer to the objection which will be weighty with many, perhaps most, present-day scholars, namely, that it is impossible to believe in such a religious development in Hezekiah's time as has been postulated above, I have this to say: We are so far from agreement over our sources that we really know precious little about the religious development in Hezekiah's time. A fair objection to current attempts to contrast the theology of earlier with that of later prophets is that many of the data have been drawn from the supposed exilic origin of Isa. 40-66. It behooves us to get our theories from *all* the facts, without forcing theories through any of them. I am far from denying either the applicability to our subject of the fruitful doctrine of evolution, or the fact that there was a religious development throughout the history of Israel. The question "what was that development?" is a question of fact, not to be answered by *a priori* pre-judgments either rationalistic or supernaturalistic. The proper order, I take it, of examining such a question is:

- a. The historical tradition.
- b. The historical situation.
- c. The *prima facie* testimony of the text as to religious teaching.
- d. The subsequent history of the text.

So let us take up

### III. MARKS OF LATER INTERPOLATIONS.

I believe (occasionally) in glosses. The very word is attractive. It suggests the smooth, silken fur of a feline, with no hint of any

concealed talons, which might rend the context into fragments. I have caught a number of these glosses and held them long enough to abstract their essential traits; so that our friend who is always with us, *der unbefangene Leser*, might be constrained to say, this *is* a gloss. Here is the first principle deduced. Let A and B be rival critics; to A, nothing is a gloss which opposes B; anything may be a gloss which favors B. I have advanced a little further in the study; for Duhm who is rich in glosses supplies abundant examples. It is the mark of a genuine gloss that it can be omitted with gain rather than detriment, that it explains an indefinite or difficult original, that it has local or temporal earmarks, that it changes poetry into prose, that it breathes the spirit of a later age. A gloss may exist in the absence of one or more of these signs, but there is one gloss which I am sure of, for it has them all. Observe how the passage reads without the gloss; the metre is as plain in English as in Hebrew (45<sup>1</sup>).

Thus saith Jahwe to his anointed	whose right hand I have holden
To bring down nations before him	and the loins of kings will I loose;
To open doors before him	and gates shall not be shut.

The Hebrew goes on in the same rhythm to the middle of ver.<sup>3</sup>. Let me refer, in passing, to König's masterly investigation of the Hebrew metres in his recent book, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik*.

This passage, 45<sup>1ff</sup>, is an address to the Servant of Jahwe, as appears from the parallels with 42<sup>1ff</sup> and especially 49<sup>1ff</sup>. König remarks (*Exiles' Book of Consolation*, p. 9): "In 45<sup>1</sup> after the mention of Cyrus the Ebed-Jahweh is not forgotten (v.<sup>4</sup>)."<sup>1</sup> But in truth this ver.<sup>4</sup>, like 49<sup>6</sup>, brings out the mission of Israel to Israel, and 45<sup>1-4</sup> (minus one word) *may* be regarded as all of one piece. The doctrine that every man's life is a plan of God is as well illustrated by Israel as by Cyrus.

But now how came the gloss לְקוֹרֶשׁ (to Cyrus) to be thrust in at the beginning of this passage, with the various detriments that have been indicated above? Professor Cheyne, in *Enc. Bib.* (article "Isaiah"), has put the principle involved here into the fewest possible words: "The older prophecies were no doubt accommodated by interpreters to present circumstances." A copyist at the close of the Exile saw a new application for this prophecy of Isaiah. He put לְקוֹרֶשׁ in his margin, whence it worked its way into the text. The previous verse was more roughly handled, on the evidence of our modern

analysts themselves. According to Duhm, everything after the Ath-nahh has been added, namely, the following: "saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built, and the temple founded." Cheyne agrees with Duhm, and Marti agrees with both. Here we distinguish between a gloss and a variant. The last part of 44<sup>28</sup>, say these three most recent commentators, was inserted by some one who wished to apply directly to Cyrus the prediction in ver.<sup>30</sup> about building the waste places; in all probability, then, say I, he replaced by the name Cyrus something that stood there before; Israel, for example, or even the name of some king, since elsewhere the term Shepherd is applied to a king. As is well known to Isaian students, the name Cyrus occurs in the whole twenty-seven chapters, 40-66, just twice; namely, in the two consecutive verses last examined, and in these, as now appears, it may be a later addition. I think it likely that in a few other cases, Isaiah's prophecies were worked over during the exile and even afterward. Thus 45<sup>3-5</sup> may have received slight additions, in the Deuteronomic style, to adapt the passage still further to the time of Cyrus. But this is not certain, as I have just indicated. Verse<sup>2</sup>, at any rate, presents no difficulty to the interpretation which I advocate. It is simply a figure of speech equivalent to saying "With God all things are possible." It can have no reference, either before or after the event, to a forcible capture of Babylon by Cyrus, for there was no such event. 48<sup>20</sup> agrees well with the hypothesis of a definite adaptation of what was first a less specific call, as at 52<sup>11</sup>. As we have seen, the normal reference to the Exile in 40-66 concerns itself with the world-wide dispersion of Israel. Something like the following may have stood originally in 48<sup>20</sup>: "Go ye forth, my people; flee ye from the oppressor"; compare the phrase just after, "the end of the earth," with the same expression in other parts of Isaiah.

In the present article, I am not examining the suspected passages in chaps. 1-39, because I have elsewhere discussed most of them minutely, and given some solid grounds for the belief that even assuming the late origin of 40-66, those passages can be successfully assigned to Isaiah. A single point may be mentioned on the matter now before us, marks of later interpolations. Many critics hold that the word "Babylon" in 14<sup>4</sup> and again in 14<sup>22</sup> did not stand in the original prophecy. I have published my adherence to Duhm's view that the first three and a half verses of that chapter are a post-exilian addition in Zechariah's manner. In any case, the critical principle which has been cited from Cheyne is at hand whenever it is called for. It is plainly impossible for any one who holds to that principle

to prove that the book of Isaiah belongs to several authors instead of to one author and a few editors. For in the main, both historical situation and religious teaching are consonant with the age of Hezekiah, and thus the sixty-six chapters of Isaiah may be attributed to that prophet, except so far as they have been accommodated by interpreters to later circumstances. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that no claim is here made for anything more than probable evidence of the essential unity of the book. The general question must be kept open, that the results of further research may be coördinated with what is already known.

#### IV. ARGUMENTS FROM STYLE AND DICTION.

Since Ewald's day, scholars have been disposed to take *cum grano salis* the arguments for either unity or diversity of authorship which rest on the style of a composition. That great master of history, grammar, and criticism was so wont to speak *ex cathedra* in matters of this sort, and his sure intuitions have been so often reversed by later investigators that the chief result is a lesson of caution. No man has ever invented a stylometer to indicate with any approach to scientific precision the extent to which an author may deviate from his accustomed forms of expressions without committing literary hari-kari. What the negative critics forget is the Protean character of genius. Other things being equal, the greater the genius, the wider the limits within which his style will disport itself. Felix Mendelssohn, on his first journey to Italy, spent some days at Weimar with Goethe, whom he knew well, and who showed himself in ever-changing moods. "Then I thought," wrote Mendelssohn, "there you have the Goethe, of whom people will one day declare, he was not at all *one* person, but consisted of several little Goethiden" (*Reisebriefe*, Leipzig, 1865, s. 6).

Moreover, when we come to *estimate* a work of genius, one man's meat is another man's poison. Knobel is as ready to give a flat contradiction to some literary pronunciamiento of Ewald's (e.g. on Isa. 12), as Dillmann to Knobel's, or Duhm to Dillmann's, and so on indefinitely. What complicates the matter still more is that the argument from style never has free course. The assertion that there is in the book of Isaiah, speaking broadly, a marked contrast of style between chaps. 1-39 and chaps. 40-66 has been a truism for several generations. Different ways of accounting for the fact have been invented, but the fact itself is indisputable. Now the defenders of

Isaian unity have always met the challenge of their opponents on this matter of style; but as soon as these defenders have pointed out, with all painstaking, the resemblances to 40-66 contained in 34-35, or in 13-14, or in 24-27, or in 21, or 33, these chapters have been declared to be themselves late, for reasons drawn chiefly from theology and history. If then we succeed in showing, for instance, that 21<sup>1-10</sup> belongs historically, and by every other test, to Isaiah,<sup>1</sup> we can begin at once to turn the tables on the analysts. For, strong as is the argument for the genuineness of the Ode in Isa. 14, considered by itself (see this JOURNAL, 1896), it is much stronger when 21<sup>1-10</sup> can be included in the foundation on which the argument rests. Again, there is, it is true, a clear difference in style, as Cheyne shows, between chaps. 13 and 14; but 13 is Isaian by independent evidence (*Bib. Sac.*, July, 1892), and hence we relegate the argument from style to its true place of subordination. So too with respect to chaps. 24-27; if Dr. Barnes can vindicate their genuineness (see his *Examination*, Cambridge [Eng.], 1891), we shall remember the oft-quoted declaration of Ewald: "Every kind of style, and every variation of exposition, is at Isaiah's command, to meet the requirements of his subject." Step by step, the work of many a year to come presents itself, in the form of a careful examination of every suspected passage, in its historical situation, its religious references, its textual integrity, and its style; each piece of ground regained will aid in the winning of another. Insistence on the proper order of these investigations gives a sufficient reply to the critical postulate of Driver, Blass, and others, that while marked diversity of style presumptively indicates difference of authorship, strong resemblance of style is a very weak argument for identity of authorship. This maxim may be of service in a case which has to be determined by considerations of style alone; but against objective evidence it has no more force than the maxim which it so much resembles: "heads I win, tails you lose." No such rough and ready dictum can exempt us from working these problems out in the sweat of our brows. To the casual reader, the list of phraseological peculiarities given in Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. 238-240 (cf. Cheyne's *Introduction*, pp. 255-270) is doubtless impressive; but how its significance shrinks when one considers the wide range and sweep of the subjects covered in those chapters. A glance at the Isaian affinities of the brief Ode in chap. 14 (see this JOURNAL,

<sup>1</sup> So Dr. W. E. Barnes, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1900; cf. my article in this JOURNAL, 1898, part i. The two are wholly independent.

1896, pp. 33-35) prepares one to believe that a similar exhibit for all the suspected passages would fill a volume larger than the whole body of the prophets.

The argument from diction (in a restricted sense, namely, the words used by an author) is capable of being put upon a more secure and scientific basis than that from style in general. For here we dig under the subjective notions of this or that critic as to stylistic harmony or dissonance, and also as to the significance of historical and religious references, which may accord equally well with events centuries apart. We build on the solid fact that every writer reflects unconsciously the particular vocabulary of his time and place. In the case before us, we examine by all possible tests the diction of every part of Isaiah, comparing the passages minutely with each other and with all other Hebrew writers, to determine their natural affinities in point of verbal expression. This was the "happy thought" (so it seemed at the time), which came to me in 1879. So for two years I worked it patiently out, publishing the results in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April and October, 1881, and for January and July, 1882. Manifestly, the chief value of such an investigation cannot be presented in the mere outlines which the present article deals with; its force lies in its fulness of detail. It is one thing to pick out certain words in chaps. 40-66 to justify an opinion, as many writers had done on either side; it is a different matter to present the vocabulary in full and in its multiform connections, as I did, tracing the delicate threads of coincidence which bind together all parts of the book in a way that the most servile imitator could not copy—not to add that the author of *such* chapters could not have been such an imitator. I really believed that an argument drawn so plainly from unconscious peculiarities would have weight with critics of all schools. But I was met at once with the reply: "Words are of minor consequence; the historical situation is the paramount matter." To which I now make respectful answer that the point is well taken, and that the evidence is this time presented (or rather, outlined) in what seems to be its due and proper order.

During the last twenty-five or thirty years, returns have been coming in also from other investigators. Our friends the radical critics should restrain their impatience at apparently unwarranted presuppositions on the part of their opponents, and should ask only, "What is there in these facts and reasonings that has to be taken up into the whole of things?" Then they would hardly fail to find some grains of sense in the arguments for Isaiah's authorship of some

or all of the antilegomena, as given by Strachey (1874), Kay (1875), Klostermann (1876), Naegelsbach (1877), Urwick (1877), Löhr (1878-80), Rawlinson (1885), Bredenkamp (1887), Orelli (1887, '91), Forbes (1890), Wright (1890, '93), Kennedy (1891), Barnes (1891, 1900), Douglas (1895), Sinker (1897), Vos (1898, '99), Margoliouth (1900), and Osgood (1901).

I would call especial attention to the admirable articles of Dr. Geerhardus Vos in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for July and October, 1898, and January, 1899. No one knows the present status of the Isaian questions who has not thoroughly and conscientiously tried the strength of the positions which he defends. I do not believe, as some of these conservative authors seem to, that radical critics are unwilling to give full and fair consideration to the arguments on the conservative side. For instance, although my own examination of Isa. 12 (in this JOURNAL, 1891, part 2) has not been noticed, as the others have been, by German and English critics, I have always supposed this to be an accidental oversight. In the comical words of Duhm (Preface to *Commentary on Isaiah*): "Vielleicht ist mir ab und an ein brauchbares Altes oder Neues entschlüpft, das Aufnahme verdient hätte; das Commentarschreiben hat eben viel vom pig puzzle."

The above bare reference to recent literature defending the unity of the book of Isaiah leads naturally to

#### V. THE GENESIS AND COURSE OF THE CRITICAL TRADITION.

One cannot properly understand the position of an opponent until he sees how it came to be what it is. The earlier shapers of the tradition down to Eichhorn were obliged, as he confesses, to oppose a general consensus. It was Gesenius in 1821 who brought the world of scholars to believe in the exilian origin of Isa. 40-66. If we had only his light, I think we should reason as he did. He had to contend against a bald form of supernaturalism, as though it should be taught that some one in the sky whispered to Isaiah the name of Cyrus several generations before the latter's birth. Gesenius did not attack this dogma in front, but he adroitly turned its flank by asserting that the prophet's own position is in the exile, where he is on firm ground, and that when he looks out into the future his vision at once becomes hazy. The positive part of this argument, as I have sought to show above, is by no means "firm ground"; the negative part is as useful as ever; indeed, it has a very present interest, as the following extract will show (*Band 2*, s. 21 f.).

Had it seemed good to Providence to permit even Isaiah to prophesy of Cyrus in a supernatural way, he would have revealed also to this prophet the position of things *after* the exile in accordance with historic truth, not with ecstatic ideals which have never been realized. What a contrast between the condition of the poor colony under Ezra and Nehemiah and the pictures of Isa. 60, 65, 66, according to which a golden age is to enter directly after the return, and is to make the nation the most splendid in the world! Doubtless every one smiles at Kimchi (in the commentary on certain passages, *eg.* 48<sup>21</sup>) who naïvely wonders because nothing is related in the book of Ezra about the miracles which, according to our prophet, were to come to the returning Jews, water springing out of the desert rocks and the like. But it is surely no better, it is the height of arbitrariness, when one regards those pictures of the prophet as really fulfilled in the history, only with the saving clause that not everything is to be taken so literally. No sensible expositor, indeed, *will* take it so; but to see an enthusiastic depiction of prosperity, splendor, and a golden age fulfilled in a poor, wretched camp, requires a strong fancy.

The attentive reader will not fail to perceive that this reasoning is auxiliary, rather than contrary, to the view I am presenting. Most of the other arguments of Gesenius relate to matters already discussed in the preceding pages. In regard to two of them, however, a word may be in place. His inference that Jeremiah would have cited against his opponents the latter portion of Isaiah had it existed, cannot be granted. Jeremiah knew too much to expose himself to the ready retort: "Isaiah is *our* royal prophet. It was he who taught us the inviolability of Zion." The argument that Jerusalem is repeatedly described (not foretold) as lying in ruins, deserves attention.

It is curious to see that while Gesenius reasons from the *fact* of Jerusalem's desolation, Cheyne finds it necessary to account for the *notion* of Jerusalem's desolation. Thus in *Enc. Bib.* he writes regarding chaps. 40-55: "We say 'at Babylon,' because certain passages presuppose that Jerusalem was desolate, which, strictly speaking, it was not. Only a writer living at a distance from Judaea can have indulged in such idealism." I believe that this is an exact statement of the truth. To my mind, the two or three allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple (apart from 44<sup>28</sup>, which Cheyne gives up) are exilian adaptations of Isaiah's original words about the cities of Judah and the desolations of the land. It is important to notice how fully the conclusions of Gesenius were accepted a generation ago. After the example of Vos, Cheyne begins the article "Isaiah" in *Enc. Bib.* by comparing Kuenen's views with those which are up to date. I follow the lead of these professors and quote Kuenen too (*Religion of Israel*, English ed., vol. i. pp. 15, 7).

"We know, for certain, that the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah are not the productions of Hezekiah's contemporary, but of a later prophet, who flourished in the second half of the sixth century before Christ." Kuenen included this among the results which he called "the natural fruit of the entire intellectual work of Europe during the last century." But to-day there are very few speaking with authority, in Europe or America, who believe this "certainty." For the later critics, Duhm, Hackmann, Kittel, Laue, Marti, and others, have vied with one another in reducing Isaiah to his lowest terms. In 1895 appeared Cheyne's *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, which left to the son of Amoz only about one fifth of the book introduced.

Upon what meat doth this Isaiah feed that he is grown so thin?

Upon critical conjectures. But I must not proceed further in the notice of Cheyne's opinions without recording my profound gratitude for his brilliant pioneer work in every department of biblical studies. It is a continual marvel that he is able to bring forth out of his treasury such abundant spoils both new and old. To appraise the full value of these ever-growing accumulations must perforce be left to later scholars. But already it is plain that his main hypothesis on the book of Isaiah is exerting a constant diremptive force. When I remarked (in this JOURNAL, 1896, p. 32, n. 3), "Those who follow his [Cheyne's] processes will probably disintegrate the book still further," it really required no gift of prophecy to make that observation, but only a rudimentary acquaintance with arithmetic. As thus: "If four fifths of a book are spurious, and any part of the remaining fifth is suspected, the chances against that part are four to one." So it has proved. The English Polychrome, 1898, went further in the same direction; the Hebrew, 1899, further still. One cannot always judge by the coloring, and one must never suppose that the English and Hebrew Polychrome constitute one work. For example, I was amazed and delighted to find chap. 1 almost wholly uncolored in both books. Give me that chapter for a fulcrum and I'll move the world. Moreover, Cheyne had commented thus in the 1898 edition; "Chap. 1, ver.<sup>2-26</sup>. All doubtless Isaiah's work, except perhaps ver.<sup>2-4</sup>, which at any rate proceed from Isaiah's school." Doubtless. But in December, 1898, Professor Haupt read an analysis of Isa. 1 before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. Haupt's results are summarized and criticized at great length in the Hebrew Polychrome. "Isaiah," says Cheyne there, "may or may not have expressed himself as Haupt supposes that he did. But it seems a hopeless task to recover any of the utterances of the prophet on which the present

text of 1<sup>2-26</sup> is based. The view expressed in Kittel-Dillmann that chap. 1 has literary unity, and as it now stands (or, one might venture to say, in anything approaching to its present form) came from the pen of Isaiah, seems to the present writer untenable." Analysis goes further still in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, published in 1901. Only the framework of chaps. 28-31 is Isaian. 6<sup>1-9</sup> in its original form came most probably from a disciple of Isaiah. On some other points, the reader is invited to suspend his judgment until the next volume of *Studia Biblica* appears. To-day, Professor Cheyne would not lay his hand on the Divine Library, and make oath that more than an eighth part of our book of Isaiah was written by the prophet himself. Besides, he foresees the last term of the series 1,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ , etc. In this last article, he intimates plainly that Isaiah, like Moses, lives in deeds, not in written words. Was he a poet? Probably not. This is the conclusion on that matter: "Isaiah was too great to be a literary artist." At last the frank confession comes out: "We can hardly expect to find that Isaiah left much in writing, and we must also make allowance for the perils to the ancient literature arising from the collapse of the state." This brings me to my final suggestion.

#### VI. ISAIAH'S PLACE IN THE WORLD OF THOUGHT.

If their race is not extinct, the masters of general literature will some day be heard from on this question. I do not refer to master's apprentices or literary dilettanti. I mean men of power, like Coleridge and Emerson; men who combine a taste as delicate as Sainte-Beuve's with an insight as keen as Browning's. They recognize a kindred spirit when they meet it; they know that the good God has sent to this planet a few men of towering literary genius, and that Isaiah was one of them. Oh, if Matthew Arnold had suspected that he was to lose both his Isaiah of Jerusalem and his great prophet of the Exile! he would have put in a vigorous veto, he would have raised a tempest about the ears of the analysts. The great masters may ignore historical constructions; they will be indifferent to literary skirmishes on the outposts; but the moment you begin to argue that Isaiah, having written A could not have written B, having soared to this height could not reach that depth, or even the common level between, they will exclaim "Hold! that is our province. Face to the right about and retreat." For no argument that would shatter Shakespeare and dismember Dante will have a feather's weight with such men.

What I believe and feel on this subject I cannot even indicate, except by an illustrative example. I am accustomed to read two authors who have much in common, Isaiah and Dante. "Why compare these?" it will be said. "They are separated by precisely two thousand years, by the gulf between Semite and Aryan, between sunny Italy and rugged Judah, between two mutually persecuting religions. They are opposed in their very cast of thought; the one objective, the other subjective. One is a poet, who poured out love sonnets; the other a prophet, whom we could not conceive in such an occupation."

True, but — a man's a man for a' that. The things wherein these two men agree are more and lie deeper than the things wherein they differ. Each was a patriot statesman, who suffered at the hands of a fickle and ungrateful people. Each has suffered since from a class of commentators, who think to measure the creative intellect by the two-foot rule. As Dante pierced to the reality under the false forms of the multitude around him, so Isaiah wielded the very spear of Ithuriel. The Jerusalem held up to righteous scorn in his chap. 3 is near of kin to the Florence which Dante lashes in *Paradiso* 16. Dismissing environment, we find that these men agree fundamentally. Each is a voice crying in a wilderness of unbelief; it is God's voice. Dante a poet and Isaiah a prophet? Dante was a prophet and Isaiah was a poet. The scholars of our time debate over the rhythm of Isaiah's verses; but every age has felt the charm of his poetic expression; even so, every age since Dante lived has bowed before his prophetic power.

The critics note, as qualities of Dante's genius, comprehensiveness, definiteness, brevity, intensity, simplicity, vision. All these are equally characteristic in Isaiah's prophecies. On the other hand, the leading *ideas* of Isaiah would almost epitomize the Divine Comedy. They are such as these: the majesty of God, the sinfulness of man, Divine judgment, salvation, refuge in God alone. In the Latin treatise, *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante mentions the subjects treated by different poets, and asserts that his own theme has been righteousness. There is no need to draw the parallel.

I have referred to *vision* as the crown of Dante's qualities of mind. His was the insight that not only penetrates but elevates and exalts; the true centre from which to view his great trilogy comes at the culmination. It is the sight of God that draws its votary on and up to immortal beatitude. Little do they know Dante who stop at the *Inferno*.

Isaiah's central standpoint comes at the beginning. This, too, is the sight of God, giving the call and consecration to his office. The *ter sanctus* first abases and then lifts him up, till the heavenly *vision* becomes the inspiring power of his life, so that Jahwe is to him, more than to any other, the Holy One of Israel.

Dante's Paradise, bathed in the eternal light of God, is gloriously anticipated in either half of the book of Isaiah. "Arise, shine, for thy light is come. The Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and thy God thy glory." Thus the second part; and in the first part we meet that promise which may well have inspired the poet of the Divine Comedy throughout his arduous quest: "Thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty; they shall behold a far-stretching land."

## PROCEEDINGS.

DECEMBER, 1900.

THE thirty-sixth meeting of the Society was held, in connection with several other philological societies, in the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, on Thursday and Friday, Dec. 28 and 29, 1900. At the first session of the Society, on Thursday, at 10 A.M., President Peters was in the chair. The members of the American Oriental Society having courteously adjourned their session in order to listen to the address of our President, it was voted to postpone business until after that address.

Dr. Peters then gave his address on "The Religion of Moses."

The records of the last meeting were read and approved. The Treasurer's report and the financial statement of the Recording Secretary were read and referred to Messrs. Denio and Montgomery as an Auditing Committee. Messrs. Thayer, Schmidt, and Wright were appointed a Committee to nominate officers for the coming year. Professor Paton reported for the Publishing Committee. The Recording Secretary read his annual report. The President called on the members present for any papers or notes not on the programme. The Recording Secretary read "Suggestions on Hebrew Metres." This was discussed by Messrs. Paton, Thayer, Ropes, Denio, and Peters.

The members were cordially invited to a lunch provided on Thursday and also on Friday for the affiliated Societies, to the Thursday evening session of the American Philological Association, and to the Friday evening session of the Modern Language Association.

Voted to adjourn the special session until Friday morning, at 9.30.

**Thursday Afternoon, Dec. 27.** — The Society met at 2.30 in joint session with the six affiliated Societies, in the chapel of the University. The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was represented by Professor Moore, who read on "Some Oriental Sources of the Alexander Myth."

**Friday, Dec. 28.** — Met at 10 A.M., the members of the American Oriental Society being again present. In the absence of both President and Vice-President, Professor Moore was chosen to preside *pro tempore*. Professor T. F. Wright read on "A Symbolic Figure of the Queen of Heaven." Discussed by Professor Barton. President Peters arrived and took the chair. Professor Paton read on "The Problem of the Patriarchs." Professor Haupt read on "Corrective Interpolations in the Book of Proverbs." Discussed by Professor Paton. Professor Barton read on "West Semitic Deities with Compound Names." Discussed by Professors Thayer and Paton. Professor Kelso read on El Elyon. Professor Driscoll read a note on Luke 2<sup>32</sup>. Discussed by Professor Ropes.

The Council reported that they had reëlected Prof. Lewis B. Paton as Corresponding Secretary, and Prof. James H. Ropes and Rev. William H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee.

On nomination of the Council, the following new members were elected :

Prof. James A. Kelso, Ph.D.,	Western Theol. Sem., Allegheny, Pa.
Prof. Fulton J. Coffin, Ph.D.,	Bible Normal College, Springfield, Mass.
Prof. Charles F. Sitterly, S.T.D.,	Drew Theol. Sem., Madison, N.J.
Rev. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Ph.D.,	Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Frederick Lent, A.B.,	Brown Univ., Providence, R.I.
Rev. William P. Armstrong, Jr.,	Princeton Theol. Sem., Princeton, N.J.
Rev. Henry C. Meserve,	Indianapolis, Ind.
Rev. A. D. Heffern,	5000 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. A. Kingsley Glover,	Wells, Minn.
Rev. G. A. Carnstensen,	10 E. 47th St., N.Y. City.
Rev. Charles S. Thayer,	334 Washington St., Providence, R.I.
Prof. Walter R. Betteridge,	Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.
Prof. James Francis Driscoll,	St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N.Y.

Professor Denio, for the Auditing Committee, reported that the Treasurer's account and the financial statement of the Recording Secretary were correct and properly vouched. The report was accepted. Professor Thayer reported for the Committee on Nominations, and the report was accepted and adopted, the following officers being elected :

Prof. Edward Y. Hincks,	<i>President.</i>
Prof. Benjamin W. Bacon,	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Rev. William H. Cobb,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. Willis J. Beecher,	<i>Treasurer.</i>

Prof. Lewis B. Paton,	}	<i>Associates in Council.</i>
Prof. George A. Barton,		
Dr. William H. Ward,		
Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil,		
Prof. Ernest D. Burton,		

Voted that the hearty thanks of the Society be returned to the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, and to the local Committee of Arrangements, for the hospitable accommodations and the liberal entertainment, which have been provided for this meeting.

Adjourned to 2.30 P.M.

**Friday Afternoon, Dec. 28.** — Met at 2.40. On nomination of the Council, the following new members were elected :

Prof. J. A. Singmaster, D.D.,	Theol. Sem., Gettysburg, Pa.
Rev. Ernst P. H. Pfattheicher, Ph.D.,	Lebanon, Pa.
Rev. T. C. Foote,	Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
Rev. James B. Nies, Ph.D.,	The Margaret, Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N.Y.

The Council proposed the following amendments to the Constitution :

*Section 3.* Omit the words "all ex-Presidents of the Society, and."

*Section 7* [a new section]. This Constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

It was voted that these amendments be received and lie over for a year.

Professor Haupt then read "On the Hebrew phrase **נִתֵּן רֹאשׁ**."

Professor A. V. W. Jackson exhibited and explained "A Persian Lacquer Painting representing the Last Judgment." Remarks followed by Messrs. Gottheil, Paton, Peters, Wright, and Moore.

At 3.30 Professor Thayer presented the final report of the Committee on an American School of Oriental Research in Palestine.

The Committee appointed by this Society in 1896 to "carry into operation" the plan for establishing a School for Oriental Study and Research in Palestine beg leave to present their report.

The plan which, in the form of a series of resolutions, received at that time the approval of this Society, has since been printed and circulated as its Constitution, a copy of which is here subjoined :

CONSTITUTION  
OF  
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL FOR ORIENTAL STUDY AND RESEARCH  
IN PALESTINE.

*(As contained in a Series of Resolutions passed by the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in 1896.)*

1. The School for Oriental Study and Research, under the auspices of this Society, shall be established in Palestine, at such place as the contributors to its support may determine.

2. The main object of said School shall be to enable properly qualified persons to prosecute Biblical, linguistic, archæological, historical, and other kindred studies and researches under more favorable conditions than can be secured at a distance from the Holy Land.

3. The School shall be open to duly qualified applicants of all races and both sexes, and shall be kept wholly free from obligations or preferences as respects any religious denomination or literary institution.

4. The management of the School in this country shall be entrusted to a Board consisting of five members of this Society, to be elected annually by the votes of such institutions and individuals as shall contribute each not less than one hundred dollars a year towards the maintenance of the School. This Board of Managers shall choose their own officers, shall have charge of all money contributed for the use of the School, shall appoint its Directors (subject to the approval of the Board of Councillors, as hereinafter provided for) and fix their salaries, shall act on applications for membership of the School, shall assign any fellowships that may be founded, and shall make an annual report of their doings in writing to this Society. They shall meet in connection with the annual meetings of this Society, and at such other times as their chairman may appoint.<sup>1</sup>

5. The public interests of the School shall be confided to a Board of fifty Councillors, who shall be chosen by this Society at its annual meeting, and shall include, besides the representatives of the institutions contributing to the maintenance of the School, such other persons as are willing to become its patrons or benefactors.

Radical changes in the constitution or the management of the School shall be communicated to this Board previously to their adoption, and the names of persons nominated as its directors shall be submitted to it for approval.

6. The operations of the School in Palestine shall be placed in charge of a Resident Director and of one or more Associate Directors. It shall be the duty of the Resident Director to provide for the School's local accommodations and

<sup>1</sup> N.B. — By virtue of an alliance between the School and the Archaeological Institute of America, which was ratified by the Society on Dec. 28, 1898, the President of the Institute becomes ex officio a member of the Managing Committee of the School, and the Chairman of the Managing Committee of the School an ex-officio member of the Council of the Institute; the Institute guarantees the School an annual subsidy; and the School gives the Journal of the Institute a prior claim to such material produced by the School or its explorations as is of a distinctly archaeological and non-Biblical character.

needs, and to take the oversight of all archaeological journeys and explorations. It shall be the duty of the Associate Director (or Directors) to supervise the literary work of the School, to give instruction at discretion, to direct and aid students in their studies and researches, and see that the results of their work are embodied, so far as possible, in theses, which, with his approval and that of the Publishing Committee, may be published in the JOURNAL of this Society.<sup>1</sup> Each Director shall annually make a written report to the Board of Managers of the work accomplished by the School.

7. It is expedient that fellowships be established in connection with the School, said fellowships to be awarded on examination, and held for at least two years; in order that, by preliminary study and by the inspection of the European museums, the work at the School by the holders may be more effective.

8. The following regulations respecting students were provisionally adopted:

*a.* Persons wishing to become members of the School must make application to the Board of Managers. They will be expected to be Masters of Arts or Bachelors of Divinity of the coöperating colleges and seminaries, or to have made attainments equivalent to those represented by the above-named degrees in recognized institutions. Some knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic is especially desirable.

*b.* The members of the School will be subject to no charge for instruction, but must provide for all their personal expenses. They will be expected to spend from the 1st of October to the 1st of June in Palestine, and are urgently advised to devote as much time as possible beforehand to special preparation for their work in the School.

*c.* Residents or travellers in Palestine who are not regular members of the School may, at the discretion of the Directors, be enrolled as special students and enjoy the privileges of the School.

*d.* No communication of any sort relative to the School, its members, its work, or its interests, shall be made to the public press by any one connected with the School without having been previously submitted to the Directors and been authorized by them.

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After a delay of years, which was principally due to lack of funds, the project was carried into effect by the choice of Prof. C. C. Torrey, Ph.D., D.D., of Yale University, as the first Director. Professor Torrey left this country last midsummer for Constantinople, in order to secure there the permit requisite for the orderly establishment of the School at Jerusalem. He was provided in the Society's name with a formal diploma of authentication, which was countersigned by the President of the Archaeological Institute of America, under the seal of that organization. He was also fortified with the assurance from the State Department at Washington that our minister at Constantinople would be requested to commend the enterprise to the kindly offices of the Ottoman Government, when the delicate negotiations with that government which were then pending should open the way. After several weeks' delay, he was informed by the head of the imperial Museum that the desired firman would ultimately be granted, and leaving the necessary documents in charge of the U.S. Legation, which promised its intervention at the proper opportunity, he betook himself to Jerusalem, where the

<sup>1</sup> See footnote on facing page.

U.S. Consul, Dr. Selah Merrill, a former member of this Society and of the American Oriental Society, had been previously requested to secure provisional quarters for the School, or "Institute," as the Turkish authorities prefer to call it. No suitable accommodations having presented themselves, the School is temporarily located in a large room, formerly occupied by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister of the English Palestine Exploration Fund, in the "Grand New Hotel," so named.

The nucleus of a working library for the School was sent to Jerusalem from this country many months ago, and Dr. Torrey was empowered to make, on his way through Europe, further purchases of books to the amount of \$500.

The responses to appeals for funds which have been made by the Committee on behalf of the School have been rather disappointingly meagre, although their constant and widespread efforts may perhaps be regarded in part as seed-sowing, from which some harvest may be reaped hereafter. The Archæological Institute has generously granted the School a subsidy of \$500 for the current year, and contributions from many other sources which in no single instance have exceeded that amount, have augmented the deposits to about \$2000, independently of the annual subscriptions (of "at least \$100 each") from the coöperating Colleges and Schools.

These institutions, which number twenty-one, are the following:

ANDOVER,	HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
AUBURN,	HEBREW UNION COLLEGE, CINCINNATI,
BOSTON UNIVERSITY,	JOHNS HOPKINS,
BROWN UNIVERSITY,	NEW YORK UNIVERSITY,
BRYN MAWR,	PENNSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY,
COLGATE,	PRINCETON UNIVERSITY,
COLUMBIA,	PRINCETON SEMINARY,
CORNELL,	TRINITY, HARTFORD,
EPISCOPAL SCHOOL OF CAMBRIDGE,	UNION SEMINARY, NEW YORK,
EPISCOPAL SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA,	YALE UNIVERSITY.
GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF NEW YORK,	

Experience has thoroughly satisfied your Committee that an income adequate to the efficiency of the School is not likely to be secured by any other method than *direct personal solicitation* on the part of those interested in its success. They accordingly earnestly request all present to make at once some effort on its behalf.

The desirableness of undertaking excavation is too obvious to be forgotten. A clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a graduate and Doctor of Philosophy of Columbia, Rev. James B. Nies of Brooklyn, became so interested in this branch of the scheme that, after spending nearly two years in Palestine, he has volunteered, and been authorized, to solicit funds for beginning such work at the site of the ancient city of Samaria, for which a firman has already been asked of the Turkish Government. The antiquity and varied history of that city render it an especially promising locality for such an undertaking. The sum needed for its *thorough* accomplishment is roughly estimated at \$50,000. The attention of public-spirited persons of wealth should be called at once to this attractive object.

Your Committee having thus performed the task assigned them now tender their resignation and beg to be discharged.

J. HENRY THAYER,  
THEODORE F. WRIGHT,  
H. G. MITCHELL,  
WILLIAM HAYES WARD,  
JOHN P. PETERS.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 27, 1900.

On motion of Professor Moore, it was unanimously voted that the report be accepted and that the Committee be discharged with a hearty vote of thanks for their very zealous and efficient service. A long and interesting discussion followed, in which Professor Thayer, Prof. T. F. Wright, Dr. James B. Nies, Dr. H. T. Clay, and Dr. Peters took part.

It was then voted that representatives of the following institutions :

Andover Theological Seminary,	General Theological Seminary, New
Auburn Theological Seminary,	York City,
Boston University,	Harvard University,
Brown University,	Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati,
Bryn Mawr College,	Johns Hopkins, Baltimore,
Colgate University,	University of the City of New York,
Columbia University,	University of Pennsylvania,
Cornell University,	Princeton University,
The Episcopal Theological School, Cam-	Princeton Theological Seminary,
bridge,	Trinity College, Hartford;
The Episcopal Divinity School, Phila-	Union Theological Seminary,
delphia,	Yale University,

together with the following individuals :

President James B. Angell, D.D.,	Ann Arbor, Mich.;
President Daniel C. Gilman,	Baltimore, Md.;
President William F. Warren,	Boston, Mass.;
Dean George Hodges,	Cambridge, Mass.;
M. Taylor Pyne, Esq.,	Princeton, N.J.;
T. Jefferson Coolidge,	Boston, Mass.;
James C. Carter, Esq.,	New York, N.Y.;
James Loeb, Esq.,	New York, N.Y.;
Jacob H. Schiff, Esq.,	New York, N.Y.;
Rev. Edward S. Rousmaniere,	Providence, R.I.;
Miss Corliss,	Providence, R.I.;
Provost C. C. Harrison,	Philadelphia, Pa.;
J. Pierpont Morgan,	New York, N.Y.;

be a Board of Councillors, to whom the public interests of the School shall be confided.

It was voted that a Committee be appointed to audit the accounts of the Palestinian School. The Chair appointed Professors Ropes and Barton. Professor Ropes subsequently reported that the accounts were correct and properly vouched.

At 4.30 the Society adjourned.

WILLIAM H. COBB,

*Recording Secretary.*

**Members in Attendance.**—Messrs. Barton, Buttz, Cobb, Denio, Driscoll, Ewell, Foote, Gottheil, Haupt, A. V. W. Jackson, Morris Jastrow, Kelso, Kent, Montgomery, G. F. Moore, Neely, Paton, Peters, Platner, Reynolds, E. W. Rice, Robinson, Rogers, J. H. Ropes, J. R. Smith, Thayer, Walker, Ward, M. H. Williams, Wolf, T. F. Wright.

**REPORT**  
OF  
FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

**Receipts.**

Balance, last Report . . . . .	\$132 86
Sales of Journal . . . . .	202 85
Annual dues of Recording Secretary . . . . .	3 00
	<hr/> \$338 71 <hr/>

**Disbursements.**

1900.

Jan. 9, Printing circulars . . . . .	\$4 25
“ 26, Berwick & Smith, Journal of 1899 (2 bills) . . . . .	89 30
July 10, Jordan, Lovett & Co., Insurance . . . . .	25 50
“ 11, Distributing Journal of 1900, Part I. . . . .	13 00
Aug. 18, Berwick & Smith, Journal of 1900, Part I. . . . .	36 39
Oct. 16, “ “ “ Offprints . . . . .	15 63
Sept. 24, Bridgeport Check protested, \$16.75; fees on same, \$2.85 . . . . .	19 60
Dec. 20, Postage and expressage for the year . . . . .	8 50
Balance in Bank of the Republic, Boston . . . . .	126 54
	<hr/> \$338 71 <hr/>

[*Copy.* I have examined and found these accounts to be correctly computed and properly vouched.

F. B. DENIO,  
*Auditor.*]

ANNUAL REPORT  
OF  
THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE  
AND EXEGESIS,

*December 28, 1899, to December 24, 1900.*

**Receipts.**

Balance in Bank, Dec. 28, 1899 . . . . .		\$530 31
INCOME:		
Initiation dues . . . . .	\$55 00	
Annual dues . . . . .	603 40	
Interest on deposits . . . . .	13 21	
	<hr/>	671 61
Total . . . . .		<u><u>\$1201 92</u></u>

**Disbursements.**

Expenses of Corresponding Secretary . . . . .	\$25 02
"    " Recording Secretary . . . . .	15 00
Janitor Columbia University, and P.O. order . . . . .	1 05
Postage for Treasurer . . . . .	9 00
Collections on checks . . . . .	3 50
Bill of Cushing & Co. for Journal XVIII. . . . .	620 00
"    " Tuttle, Morehouse & Co. . . . .	131 70
"    " Cushing & Co., Journal XIX., Pt. I. . . . .	217 55
Cash in Bank, Dec. 24, 1900 . . . . .	179 10
	<hr/>
	<u><u>\$1201 92</u></u>

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIS J. BEECHER, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found to be correctly computed and properly vouched.

F. B. DENIO, *Auditor.*

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1901.

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1871

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# JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

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# JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

TWENTIETH YEAR — 1901 — PART II.

## The Religion of Moses.<sup>1</sup>

REV. J. P. PETERS, PH.D.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE traditional view of the religion of Israel, in which most of us were brought up, represented Moses as the giver of an ethical and ritual law, of a highly developed and complex nature, centuries in advance of his time — a law so high in its ethical character that, for the most part, it is applicable to-day, in spite of the wonderful advance in morals since Moses' time; a ritual law so complicated that, even after the nation turned into a church, in the period following the exile, there were still portions of that ritual which were impracticable of execution. In the sharpest contrast to the traditional view in which we were brought up stands what, for want of a better word, I may call the critical view of to-day, which denies to Moses the authorship, not merely of the law as a whole, but practically of any part of it, even of the Ten Commandments, and makes his principal religious function to have been to teach the Israelites the worship of Yahweh, who was thus made God of Israel, in the sense in which, for instance, Chemosh was god of Moab; which does not admit that Moses taught a monotheism, or even a henotheism.

Budde, in his *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, delivered as the "American Lectures on the History of Religions" two years ago, says: "It is, therefore, in the highest degree improbable that Yahweh demanded at Sinai the exclusive veneration of His own godhead. . . . Not that I would deny that Yahweh was the only God of the nation Israel. As long as the nation Israel has existed Yahweh has been its only God, and as long as it continues to exist He will so remain. But in antiquity there were not only national gods, but also clan, family, and household gods. Every social unit had its special

<sup>1</sup> President's Address at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Dec. 27, 1901.

god, nor was any association formed between men which was not dedicated to a special deity and placed under his protection" (p. 59).

Now it is clear to Budde that the modern critical view is radically at fault in that it makes no provision, in its account of Moses' work, for the ethical impulse on which the whole wonderful development of the history of Israel depends, and which clearly must be ascribed to Moses. He endeavors to make good that defect, following, substantially, the lead of Stade of Giessen, by the following curious theory: Yahweh, according to him, was the god of the Kenites, the tribe of Moses' father-in-law. Under Moses' leading the Israelites adopted this god as their god, and "Israel's covenant with Yahweh and Yahweh's with Israel" was "an alliance of Israel with the nomad tribe of the Kenites at Sinai, which had as its self-evident condition the adoption of their religion, Yahweh worship. . . . This is the oldest known example of transition, or conversion, of a people to another religion" (pp. 24 and 25). "Israel needed a God mighty in war, and found Him here" (p. 28). "Israel's religion became ethical because it was a religion of choice and not nature, because it rested on a voluntary decision which established an ethical relation between the people and its God for all time" (p. 38.)

According to Budde, "all attempts to find the germ of the ethical development of the Yahweh religion in the material content of the conception of God as represented by Moses, have completely failed" (p. 35). The ethical germ does not lie in anything that Moses did or taught or revealed, but in the fact that, breaking with all traditions of the past, the people, under Moses' leadership, it is true, made a choice of the God of another people as their God. That God was no more ethical than any other God. It was the fact of a choice, establishing a voluntary relation with the deity, instead of the "natural relation" conceived of as existing among all other peoples, which constituted the ethical germ.

Now I venture to think that Professor Budde's presentation of this extraordinary theory is its own best refutation; and for its further discussion I would, therefore, refer to the first chapter of the volume of lectures referred to, in which this theory is presented. But Budde does make this clear: that it is absolutely necessary, if one is to study the history of the religion of Israel intelligently, to find a satisfactory ethical foundation on which to rest the wonderful structure of this religion; and that that ethical foundation must be sought, if not in the teaching of Moses, then in some acts or events connected with him. The error in the critical view, if I may use such a term, seems

to me to have been, in general, that, reacting from the impossible traditional picture, Moses has been reduced to the ranks, and made not only a creature of his time and age, but one who had no outlook beyond that of the commonest men and women among whom he lived and moved.

We all recognize the principle of evolution in the history of humanity as well as in the history of the physical universe. What occurs is a development from what has been. A new movement of thought is an outgrowth of previous movements, modified by new conditions and environment. The history of a nation is a history of the development or evolution of a people or peoples, following certain laws which are, in the main, recognized, however difficult it may be to formulate them in precise terms. The physical conditions under which people live — conditions of climate, of fertility or sterility of the soil, of mountainous or level country, of pasture or arable land, of large rivers or small streams, of seaboard or interior — are bound to produce their effects. The relations of a people to those about them, and the particular circumstances under which they come in contact with surrounding peoples, have their influence.

We recognize evolution in religion. No religion, ancient or modern, has been created *de novo*. Each religion has been, to a greater or less extent, evolved out of preëxisting ideas, and has been affected, in its development, by the historical, climatic, and other conditions of the people who adopted it.

So with the individual man. We look for the explanation of a man, his thoughts and his actions, to his antecedents and his environment; but while this is true, we also recognize that there is a part of the man which is peculiar to himself. He is *sui generis*. The man is not altogether explained either by heredity or environment. However much he is affected by these, there is a something in him peculiar to himself; and the greater the man the greater this individual and peculiar element in his character is likely to be. This being the case, we must recognize also in the history of human institutions the peculiar and individual factor due to the peculiar character of the man or men to whom they owe their origin. This is especially true in the case of systems of religious thought which are due to one man. They possess, like the man himself, an element not explicable either by environment or heredity. This must be recognized in dealing with such peculiar modern religious manifestations as Mormonism, or the Shaker religion of the Puget Sound Indians, or Christian Science. It is true also of the great ancient religions of Zoroaster, Gau-

tama, Confucius, Mohammed, etc. It must be equally recognized in dealing with the religion of Moses. But here it seems to me that there has been a tendency on the part of the critics to stand so straight that, as it were, they lean backward. The same methods should be applied in the study of the religion of Moses as are applied in the study of the religions of Zoroaster, Gautama, Confucius, Mohammed, etc. It seems to me, however, that, reacting against the false exception formerly made by Jewish and Christian religious teachers in dealing with the religion of Moses, the tendency of modern critical students has been to apply the doctrine of evolution and environment to an extent which eliminates the personal factor altogether. The personal equation of Moses must be sought in the same way in which we seek the personal equations of the other great religious founders, and by the same tests; and, as in their cases, so in his it must be recognized that it is because he was *sui generis*, towering above his race and time, that he was able to found, among a primitive and barbarous people, a religion capable of such wonderful development. We must recognize the influence of preëxisting hereditary religious ideas in the creation, and the modifying and conditioning effects of environment in the development of the religion of Israel; but in doing so we must not fail to recognize the immense importance of the personal factor of the founder of that religion — a man spiritually and mentally in advance of those about him.

Moses was the founder of the religion of Israel in very much the same sense that Jesus Christ was the founder of Christianity, and Mohammed of Mohammedanism, Zoroaster of Zoroastrianism, and Gautama Siddhartha, the Buddha, of Buddhism. He was a unique man, towering above his time, anticipating future ages, reaching out beyond his own. We do not ordinarily call the religion of Israel Mosaism; and yet it would perhaps be as correct to do so as it is to use the names Christianity, Mohammedanism, and the like. The reformers and thinkers of all succeeding ages in Israel refer their reforms and their interpretations of the nature and commands of God back to Moses for their justification; and the more advanced the development of the religion of Israel the greater was the inclination to hark back to Moses as the first source and the standard for comparison, precisely as in Christianity to-day men hark back to Jesus as the founder. Perhaps, however, the failure to designate in common parlance the religion of Israel by the title Mosaism may be justified and explained by the fact that our actual information with regard to his work and teaching is less than in the case of any of the other great

religion-founders mentioned. He lived in a more remote age and under conditions less civilized and less adapted to the exact transmission of tradition than any of the others.

Of all religion-founders Moses may probably best be compared with Jesus and Mohammed ; but the differences are almost as striking as are the resemblances. Jesus left no writings of any description, no code of law, no form of theology ; but he impressed himself upon a band of disciples, who later endeavored to record both his sayings and his life for the benefit of posterity. Moses had no such disciples, and the actual tradition of his life and teaching which has come down to us is from a much later period, and is strongly mixed with legendary and traditional elements ; it is connected also with a great mass of legislation which is clearly of a later growth, however much it may be founded upon his teachings. His work was to impress himself upon a people ; to make of a number of tribes a nation united by the bond of religion. In this national aspect of his work he resembles Mohammed. Like the latter, he established cohesion among independent tribes by means of a religious bond. Like him also he gave to his people, if not a theoretical, at least a practical, monotheism ; and like him he raised the religion of his compatriots to an ethical level, or introduced into it ethical elements previously wanting.

The story of Moses in the earliest form in which it has come down to us, in the Judæan and Israelite narratives (JE), contained in the books of Exodus and Numbers, dates from a time three centuries or thereabouts after his death. In its main features this story is as follows : Moses was the son of a Levite woman, born in the land of Goshen, where the Israelites were suffering under the oppression of the Egyptians. He was exposed by his mother in a pitch-smearred bulrush box on the Nile. He was found by the Pharaoh's daughter, and given by her the name Moses, "drawn out of the water." She gave him to his Israelite mother to be suckled, not knowing that she was his mother. So he grew up under the protection of the Egyptian princess, but himself conscious of his Israelite origin. When he was grown, he saw one day an Egyptian smiting a Hebrew, and, fired with indignation, he killed the Egyptian. Finding this in danger of becoming known, he fled from Egypt to Midian. There he attached himself to a priest of the country, named, according to one tradition, Reuel, or Hobab son of Reuel, and according to another, Jethro, and married one of his daughters. Later, at the call of Yahaweh, who declared himself to be the god of the Hebrews,

he returned to Egypt to demand at first permission for his Israelite brethren to go and serve their God in the wilderness, and afterward their release. Assisted by his brother Aaron, he was instrumental in bringing a number of plagues upon Egypt, ending with the destruction of the first-born of the Egyptians, through the power of Yahaweh. Then at last the Pharaoh consented to let the Israelites go out of Egypt; but after they had started he changed his mind and pursued them. By Yahaweh's order, Moses led the people to the shore of an arm of the Red Sea, and when the Egyptians pressed upon them from behind Yahaweh opened a way through the sea, and they escaped by night. The next day the Egyptians attempted to follow them, but were overwhelmed in the sea. For forty years Moses led the people about in the wilderness, undergoing various hardships. Their objective point was Canaan, but they were not strong enough to force their way into it from the south, although for a long time their headquarters were at Kadesh-Barnea, not far from the southern border of what was afterward the land of Judah. During this period Yahaweh gave his people a law through Moses. According to one tradition this law was given at Horeb, and according to the other at Sinai. This law consisted of two tables of stone, with five "Words" on each table, written by Yahaweh himself; but besides that there were judgments and statutes emanating from Moses by the command of God. The two tables with the Ten Words upon them were placed in a box or ark with a tent to cover it. This constituted the shrine or sanctuary of the Israelites, and was carried before them wherever they went. Finally, under the lead of Moses, the Israelites passed to the south of Edom, and then northward, east of Edom and Moab, until they came to an Amorite kingdom, which had intruded itself between Ammon and Moab. This they conquered, and took possession of the country east of the Jordan, from the Arnon northward, and there Moses died.

How much is historical in this tradition? There is no reason to doubt that the tribes of Israel, or at least a section of them, were oppressed by the Egyptians in Goshen, that border-land of Egypt inhabited by nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples. The oppression consisted largely, if not altogether, of conscription for enforced labor. Against this the Israelites rebelled, and fled into the wilderness. Their flight was connected with circumstances that impressed themselves as special providences, bringing them into a peculiar relation with the deity. Moses was their leader in the flight and the interpreter of God's action toward them. In the wilderness of Sinai and

Horeb the Israelites found kindred tribes, either some of the tribes known later as the twelve tribes of Israel, which had not participated in the sojourn in Egypt and the oppression there, or kindred peoples readily capable of amalgamation with the tribes of Israel, such as the Kenites and Kenizzites. Moses was connected with one of these tribes and with its priesthood. The dwelling-place of this tribe was in the Horeb-Sinai wilderness. So much is generally admitted.

Further, it is clear that Moses united the tribes of Israel by a religious bond, and that that bond connected them with the wilderness southward and southeastward of Judah. This is shown by one of the earliest fragments of Hebrew poetry which has come down to us, the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5). This poem, if not written by Deborah, was at least contemporary with her and with the events which it narrates, and probably originated not later than a generation or two after the time of Moses. The tribes of Israel are there represented as a united people, who are bound to stand by one another and to fight together the battles of Yahaweh.<sup>2</sup> Yahaweh is their leader, who has the right to claim the allegiance and the aid of all the tribes. It is he that fights. The tribes of Israel are his followers, bound to come to his aid, "to the aid of Yahaweh like heroes." How strong the bond of brotherhood among the Israelites was, and how binding was the obligation to come to the aid of Yahaweh, is shown by the curse invoked upon the inhabitants of Meroz, because they failed to assist their brethren in this war.<sup>3</sup> But while the Song of Deborah thus testifies to a religious bond which united Israel under the leadership of its supreme king and ruler, Yahaweh, his dwelling-place is not in Palestine, but southward, at Horeb-Sinai, in the wilderness of Seir, Israel's former home. Thence he comes to fight for them (v.<sup>4</sup>).

The next question which we have to ask ourselves is: What was the nature of this bond by which the tribes of Israel were united to Yahaweh and to one another? It consisted in the recognition of

<sup>2</sup> The same view is presented in the Song of Miriam, Ex. 15, which McCurdy, in his *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, argues is in its original form contemporaneous with Moses.

<sup>3</sup> It should be observed that all the twelve or thirteen tribes of Israel are not mentioned in this poem. Those that are mentioned are, first, the Josephites and Rachelites, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Machir, which is Manasseh, then Zebulon, Issachar, and Naphtali, the tribes especially concerned in this war. These are all united under Deborah and Barak. Further, we have reproaches addressed to Reuben, Gilead, that is Gad, Dan, and Asher, because they failed to come to the assistance of their brethren and to the aid of Yahaweh. Judah, Simeon, and Levi are omitted entirely.

one God as the God of all Israel, throughout all its tribes, clans, and families, to whom it owed a special allegiance, and to whom it stood in a peculiar relation, a blood-relationship which affected all. Now the primitive conception of a god depends upon his name; he cannot exist without a name, and, in a sense, the name makes the god. How true this was of Arabian heathenism appears plainly in the history of Islam, where Mohammed takes the name Allah and makes it the peculiar and special name of the god of Islam. Did Moses do the same thing?

That he did so to some extent certainly is clear, among other things, from the Song of Deborah, which has just been cited, where the God who claims the allegiance of the tribes of Israel is Yahaweh. But that Moses was the founder of "Yahwism," that the one thing which he taught was the name Yahaweh as the God of Israel, is clearly disproved by the evidence of Israelite proper names. It is a well-established fact that among Semitic peoples the proper names of the deities worshipped will appear in the names of the worshippers, especially of the priests of the shrines and the kings and governing aristocracy. Now an analysis of Hebrew proper names shows us this peculiar fact: that while in the earlier stages of the history of Israel we have names denoting relationship to God, that he is father, uncle, brother, etc., names denoting the government of God, that he is king, lord, master, owner, etc., and names containing the general designation of divinity, namely El, names compounded with Yahaweh are almost, if not altogether, lacking. Before the time of the kingdom, there are few, if any, such names well attested. With the establishment of the kingdom, names compounded with Yahaweh begin to appear in the reigning family and in the court circle. After the separation of the kingdom, such names, although continuing in Judah, are lacking in Israel or Samaria until the time of the Prophet Elijah and the family of Ahab. It is clear that in the earlier period the father, uncle, brother, master (*baal*), king (*melek*), lord (*adon*), referred to in proper names bearing those words, is the God of Israel.<sup>4</sup> This God is frequently designated as El, or Elohim. Now El is the universal Semitic designation of divinity, a sort of an ideograph, which might be added to any name to make it the name of a god, or to declare that it was a divine name. Elohim is the plural of Eloah, a word recognized by the Hebrews as an ancient designation of the deity, although seldom actually found in the more ancient documents. Eloah is identical with the Arabic Allah, the universal

<sup>4</sup> Cf. especially Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*.

Arabic name for deity, which Mohammed made *the* name of God.<sup>5</sup> Moses does not seem to have followed quite the same method as Mohammed. He recognized but one El, or Elohim, for all Israel, whether designated as father, brother, uncle, master, king, lord, or whatever other title might be used; but from the evidence of the Song of Deborah and other early documents it would appear that he taught further the name Yahaweh as the special name of the God who belonged alike to all Israelites, not, however, to the exclusion of these other names or titles.

But whence was the name Yahaweh<sup>6</sup> derived? In regard to this tradition seems to be conflicting. Passages may be cited from the Judæan historical compilation which would seem to show that, ac-

<sup>5</sup> The name Eloah, or Elohim, does not appear as a component in Hebrew proper names at any period; and the same is true of Allah in Arabic use. What is the cause of this is not altogether clear.

<sup>6</sup> The etymology of Yahaweh is uncertain. The traditional etymology connects it (Ex. 3<sup>14</sup>) with the root 'to be,' or, rather, 'to become' (*hayah*). Others make it a causative of the same root. Others connect it with *hawah*, supposed to have meant originally in Hebrew, as in Arabic, 'to fall,' and interpret it as meaning 'the one who causes (rain or lightning) to fall,' etc. Cf. Brown-Driver-Briggs-Robinson, *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 218. In composition, at the end of a word, the form *yah* or *iah* is used, and the same form occurs independently in poetical use, apparently rather late. In composition, at the beginning of a word, the contracted form *Yo* (*Jo*) is used. *Yah* appears to be an undeclined form of which the nominative is *Yahu*, which form occurs independently in the proper name written in English, 'Jehu.' These forms are commonly regarded as abbreviations of Yahaweh. On the other hand, Yahaweh may be a secondary or specialized form from an original *Yah*, with the fuller nominative form *Yahu*. It is uncertain whether the name occurs in the Assyrian-Babylonian inscriptions. The trend of opinion at present seems to be in favor of such occurrence; my own opinion is that it does not occur except perhaps in composition in a few names which may be attributed to Hebrew influence. The vocalization of the consonants *YHWH* (*JHVH*), which compose the sacred name, is not quite certain. Wherever this ineffable name occurred in the text of scriptures, the later Jews substituted in pronunciation *a(ĕ)donai*, 'lord.' When they wrote the text with vowels, therefore, they wrote with the consonants of one word the vowels of the other. Our *Jehovah* is a combination of the consonants of *Yhwh* with the vowels of *adonai*. Presumably, the true vowel of the first syllable was *a*, of the second a slurred sound, such as we give in English to any vowel in an unaccented middle syllable, and of the third, perhaps, an *e* (Italian sound). The name thus vocalized is variously written as *Jahveh*, *Yahweh*, *Yahwé*, etc. These transliterations, however, fail to give any idea of the trisyllabic character of the word. We have preferred the less common transliteration, *Yahaweh*, used by Robertson in his Gifford Lectures on the *Religion of Israel*, as more correctly representing the supposed pronunciation of the word.

according to early tradition, Yahaweh<sup>7</sup> was an ancient name of God known to the forefathers of Israel. Again, passages may be cited from the Israelite historical compilation which seem to show that, according to tradition, Yahaweh was a new God, first revealed to Israel by Moses.<sup>8</sup> Tradition does, however, make this clear: that the original habitat of Yahaweh was Horeb-Sinai. Horeb and Sinai, as used in the Old Testament, are clearly not some particular and individual mountain well known to later times, but a general locality. The Song of Deborah uses, to describe the same location, "Seir and the land of Edom," which use is imitated at times in later literature, as, for instance, in Hab. 3<sup>3</sup>, where the same region is called "Teman and Mount Paran."<sup>9</sup> The region indicated is the mountainous territory to the south or southeast of Palestine, the wilderness out of which Israel came into Palestine.<sup>10</sup>

According to the tradition of Moses above narrated, the first manifestation to him of Yahaweh as the God of Israel occurred in that same mountain wilderness region. According to this tradition also, Moses was connected by marriage with a priestly family, having its home in that country. Now gods were ascribed in heathen Arabia to certain localities; and in many cases various tribes made pilgrimages to a shrine outside of their own boundaries, the god of which belonged, not to the tribe in whose boundaries his home was, but rather to the locality. In such cases it seems clear that the worship of the god by the various tribes which made pilgrimages to the shrines is to be ascribed to previously existing conditions; that there was an earlier connection with the locality and with one another on the part of the tribes which worshipped there, or of some of their number, through their forefathers. If, in the case of such a sanctuary, the guardianship of the shrine was vested in a family not of the tribe occupying the land in which the shrine was situated, it is probable that the latter tribe had come to occupy land formerly in the possession of some of the tribes making pilgrimage to that shrine. It worshipped the god because he was the god of the land whom it

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the use of Yahaweh in the Judæan document in Genesis.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ex. 3<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also Dt. 33<sup>2</sup> Ps. 68<sup>7</sup> ff.

<sup>10</sup> Horeb is, properly speaking, the mountainous territory at the southern extremity of the Edomite country, east of the 'Aqabah. Sinai is the mountainous peninsula west of the 'Aqabah. According to the Judæan tradition, which is followed by the later Priestly narrative, Sinai was the mountain of God. According to the Israelite tradition, which is followed by the Deuteronomist and Habakkuk, Horeb, or the southern mountain region of Edom, was the mountain of God. Cf. also 1 Kings 19.

found in possession; but he was not, primarily, its own god. Considering these facts, it is not necessary for us to assume, as Stade and Budde have done, that Israel consciously adopted the god of a foreign tribe, the Kenites. It was because Israel entered into the land of Yahaweh, his sacred mountain, Horeb-Sinai, that the god of the land became his god.

The tradition that Moses, Israel's leader, was connected by marriage or adoption with priests of that land, and, therefore, presumably of Yahaweh, seems altogether credible, for without such a connection he could scarcely have established the worship of Yahaweh as an effective bond of union among the tribes of Israel. He would have been himself an outsider to the worship of Yahaweh. But, further, some at least of the Israelites were closely connected with the tribes of the southern wilderness. In part, at least, Judah belonged to that region, and, probably, Simeon also. In that case, Yahaweh may have been their God. That this was the case is suggested by the difference between the Israelite and Judæan traditions. According to the former (Ex. 3<sup>14</sup>), the name Yahaweh was first revealed to Moses at Horeb. According to the latter,<sup>11</sup> the name Yahaweh was used by the patriarchs from time immemorial.<sup>12</sup> But whatever the connection of a part of the Hebrews with Yahaweh before the time of Moses, it is clear that it was through him that Yahaweh became the name of the god of Israel, and apparently because of Yahaweh's connection with the land of Horeb-Sinai, in which Israel was organized under his leadership.

The earliest Hebrew tradition ascribes to Moses a representation of the presence of the deity in the shape of an ark or box, by which the God of Israel might accompany his people wherever they went. When the Israelites entered Canaan, the ark of Yahaweh of Hosts was carried with them, and located in the tribe of Ephraim.<sup>13</sup> Where this ark was, there was Yahaweh.<sup>14</sup> There has been handed down an old ritual formula, connecting itself with the time when the ark was a movable, not a stationary, sanctuary: "Rise up, Yahaweh, and let

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the two documents of the Hexateuch known to critics as E and J, in Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, Addis' *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> It may be noted, further, that it is in the tribe of Judah that names compounded with the divine name Yah (for Yahaweh) first become prominent. They do not appear among the middle and northern tribes, with the exception of Saul's family and court, until the time of Ahab and Elijah. This suggests an earlier connection of Judah with Yahaweh.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Sam. 3<sup>1</sup> ff. 4<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Sam. 5<sup>6</sup> 2 Sam. 6<sup>10-22</sup>.

thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee"; and its counterpart: "Return, Yahaweh, unto the ten thousands of the thousands of Israel."<sup>15</sup> Even after the ark became a part of a sanctuary, first at Shiloh, and, later, in David's time, at Jerusalem, it was still, at least on special occasions, carried out to battle, with the belief that with it went the presence of Yahaweh.<sup>16</sup>

It is clear that we have in the ark the shrine of a god who accompanies Israel in all his movements, and it is also clear that that God is Yahaweh. Furthermore, there is no question that the ark is to be traced back to the Mosaic period of Israel's history, and was brought with him out of the wilderness.

This idea of Yahaweh present in the ark and accompanying Israel from place to place, or going forth to battle with his armies, does not seem consistent with the localization of Yahaweh in Horeb-Sinai, and, apparently, did not originally belong to the religion of Yahaweh of Sinai. We have in the representation of the presence of Yahaweh by the ark and the representation of Yahaweh as dwelling at Horeb-Sinai two different conceptions, which have been united with one another.<sup>17</sup>

Through the ark the Israelites carried their God with them, that he might be ever present. Nevertheless, Horeb-Sinai continued to be, in a special sense, the residence or dwelling-place of Yahaweh. It was there that he first became known; there Israel acknowledged him as his God. From the ethical standpoint, the conception of Yahaweh accompanying Israel by means of the ark is an advance over the conception of Yahaweh as localized in Horeb-Sinai. The importance of this new conception in the religious development of Israel becomes more apparent when we consider the consequences of the contact of Israel with the civilization and the religion of Canaan. Without the presence of Yahaweh, Israel must inevitably have lost his religion. Had his God been connected irrevocably and inseparably with Horeb-Sinai, then Israel, settling in Canaan, must ultimately have abandoned him in favor of the gods of the land into which he entered. By means of the ark, Yahaweh accompanied his people whithersoever they went, the special deity of Israel, always in the midst of them.

<sup>15</sup> Num. 10<sup>35</sup> f.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Sam. 4<sup>1ff</sup>; 2 Sam. 11<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Ex. 23<sup>20</sup> 32<sup>34</sup>. It may have been the sense of this inconsistency which led to the development of a view which we find represented in the traditions of the ninth century, contained in E, that it was not Yahaweh himself who went with Israel through the wilderness into Canaan, but the angel of Yahaweh.

The holy tent, which we find mentioned in the ninth century writings, JE, belongs also to the externals established, or, at least, adopted, by Moses. It is represented as an ordinary tent, which Moses sets up outside of the camp as a tent of revelation, where Yahaweh appears to him and grants him oracles.<sup>18</sup> Joshua, Moses' successor, is mentioned as the guardian of this tent, which suggests that it had some content. The most natural content would seem to have been the ark; but it must be confessed that the relation of these two, one to another, is not clear.<sup>19</sup>

But whence was the ark derived? The shrines of the heathen Arabs, to whom we must in general look for an interpretation of the religious conditions of pre-Mosaic Israel, were local; they did not conceive of the god as moving with his people from place to place, but as localized in some given spot. A similar belief seems to have prevailed in Canaan, where the *ba'al* was thought to be attached to the land, a view which the Israelites themselves shared after their settlement in Canaan.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, although the Arabians revered stones as the representatives or abiding-places of the god, those stones could not be transported from place to place. It was the stone and the place together which constituted the shrine. The nearest approach to a transportation of the god that we find in heathen Arabia is the representation of his presence in battle by a sacred banner, or by a mare, or a maiden mounted on a mare. But this is very far removed from the conception of a god dwelling in the midst of his people in an ark or box, not only going forth to battle with them, but also travelling with them from one country to another. Apparently neither the Canaanites nor any of the surrounding peoples kindred to the Hebrews—Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites—had anything resembling the ark, or any custom resembling the Israelite custom of carrying the presence of god about in or by means of an ark. The nearest analogy to the ark that has been found is the use of a boat, in Babylonia and Egypt, to transport the gods from one shrine to another, or to take a god in solemn procession through or about his land.<sup>21</sup> That this was not a common Semitic practice is clear from the fact that we find no similar use in Arabia, or among

<sup>18</sup> Ex. 33<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> In the later Priest Code, the tent is an elaborate tabernacle, and it is clearly stated that its most sacred content was the ark of the Covenant, Ex. 25<sup>10 ff.</sup> 26<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> 1 Sam. 26<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 653 ff.; Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 373 f.

the Syrians or Phoenicians. It seems, therefore, that we cannot, arguing from the Babylonian use of god-ships, suppose the ark to have been a part of the ancestral pre-Mosaic religion of the Hebrews, either as an original Semitic use, or as one derived from the Babylonians, in consequence of their earlier connection with the West Land; for in that case we should have found the same use among some of the Hebrew or Canaanite peoples outside of Israel. Hebrew tradition itself assigns the origin of the ark to Moses, and apparently with right. Was the ark, then, a modification of the Egyptian god-ship, or is it in any sense due to the influence of the Egyptian use of ships to convey the images of the gods from place to place? It seems to me probable that we should recognize here Egyptian influence, and that the Egyptian ship became among the Hebrews a box, very much as in the Hebrew flood story the Babylonian ship became a box.<sup>22</sup>

The next question with which we have to deal is the contents of the ark. Clearly an ark has a purpose and an object only as the receptacle for something which it contains. An empty wooden chest cannot, like a block of wood, be a sanctuary. Since the ark was regarded as containing the divinity in itself, the stone contained therein must have been regarded as the "house of the divinity."<sup>23</sup> Such is the general verdict of scholars to-day; but, on the other hand, many, if not most, modern critical scholars, while accepting tradition up to the point of an ark containing a sacred stone or stones, discard the tradition that the contents were two written tables of stone. They admit the ark and the stone, but suppose the latter to have been a rude stone, perhaps meteoric, of the nature of a fetich. There is no documentary or traditional evidence for this supposition, nor even any incidental allusion which can be referred to in support of it. The main, if not the only, reason, for this view, is that the Decalogue seems too advanced to be ascribed to so early a period, and that the conception of an ethical code of laws as the representative of the presence of God, in place of an image or a fetich, is unique, and out of the line of development, at least in that age. Further than this, there is the general fact that rude stones, and es-

<sup>22</sup> In support of this proposed connection with Egypt may be cited the supposed Egyptian derivation of the name of Moses, from the time of the LXX Greek translation onward. Cf. Dillmann on Ex. 6<sup>20</sup>. Some have further supposed the names Miriam, Aaron, and Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, to be of Egyptian origin. Cf. on the last Dillmann on Ex. 6<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Benzing, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 369.

pecially meteoric stones, were throughout Arabia, Syria, and Palestine worshipped as representations of deity. On the other hand, there is no slightest allusion or reference in any writing which can in any way be made to suggest a consciousness that at any time the contents of the ark had been a rude, unlettered stone or stones, while from a very early period certainly contemporary writers state its contents to have been two inscribed stones.

The earliest writings which have come down to us, writings practically contemporary with David and Solomon, mention the ark as "the ark of the covenant of God," or "of Yahaweh." Similarly, in the earliest portions of the Pentateuch, JE, we find the titles "ark of the covenant," or "ark of the covenant of Yahaweh." In the seventh century, the "ark of the covenant of Yahaweh" is the name in common use.<sup>24</sup> The Book of Deuteronomy (chap. 10) states the contents of the ark to have been two tables of stone containing the Decalogue, placed there by Moses. A similar statement is made in the Book of Kings (1 K. 8<sup>21</sup>). It is evident that from the seventh century onward the contents of the ark were the Decalogue, and that this was then understood to be the covenant from which the ark took its name, "ark of the covenant of Yahaweh," as the passages referred to in JE and Samuel show. But a part of this title, *viz.* "ark of the covenant," is as old as the tenth century. Moreover, it seems clear that the writer of Deuteronomy derived his information as to the contents of the ark from the earlier writing JE, and that in the original form of the Judæan historical document of the ninth

<sup>24</sup> Jer. 3<sup>16</sup>. The use of the terms "ark of the covenant," "ark of the covenant of Yahaweh," "ark of the covenant of God," etc., in the earliest strata of Samuel and the Hexateuch, side by side with the terms "the ark," "ark of Yahaweh," "ark of God," is too frequent to admit of explanation by interpolation. In his *Exodus*, Bacon at times assumes that the words "of the covenant," etc., are a later addition; but this is not done systematically, and, even accepting his emended text, we still have numerous cases of this use. In fact, in both JE and the earliest document in Samuel, the addition "ark of the covenant" is too common to be explained on the ground of interpolation. Moreover, some of the terms used, such as "ark of the covenant," "ark of the covenant of God," "ark of the covenant of Yahaweh of Hosts," "ark of the covenant of the God of Israel," are not names which we find used by the later writers. In Deuteronomy the name "ark of the covenant of Yahaweh" becomes almost a *terminus technicus* for the ark. The same name is used once in Jeremiah. The Priest Code has its own peculiar designation, "ark of the testimony." The Chronicler uses various names taken from the earlier books, the "ark of God" and the "ark of the covenant of Yahaweh" being the most frequent, and adds one name of his own, the "holy ark."

century (Ex. 34) it was stated that the contents of the ark were two tables of stone containing the Decalogue.<sup>25</sup> Combining these historical statements, and the names of the ark found in the earliest documents, one may safely say that as early as the time of David the contents of the ark were two tables of stone, containing the Decalogue, and regarded as a covenant from or with Yahaweh. In other words, we can trace back to David's time the presence in the ark of two stones inscribed with the ten "words." That any change should have been made between the time of David and that of Moses in the contents of the ark, by the substitution of written tablets for a rude stone or fetich, is so improbable, in view of the unethical character of that period, that the possibility need not be considered. In fact, no one has ventured to attribute the invention of the Decalogue, and its substitution in the ark for a rude stone or fetich, to the time of the Judges. So far as those who hold to such a substitution have defined their position at all, they suppose the substitution to have been made, or at least the Decalogue to have been composed, in the early prophetic period; a theory altogether subjective, and directly contradicted by the objective evidence set forth above.

The Decalogue of the two tables may be restored with a fair degree of accuracy by a comparison of Ex. 20 and Deut. 5, as follows:—

- Table I. 1. Thou shalt have none other gods before me.  
 2. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image.  
 3. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahaweh, thy God, in vain.  
 4. Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy.  
 5. Honor thy father and thy mother.
- Table II. 1. Thou shalt not murder.  
 2. Thou shalt not commit adultery.  
 3. Thou shalt not steal.  
 4. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.<sup>26</sup>  
 5. Thou shalt not covet.<sup>27</sup>

These Ten Words lie at the foundation, both in form and content, of all later legislation.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 10<sup>1-5</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Possibly: "Thou shalt not oppress." Cf. this JOURNAL, June, 1886, pp. 140 ff.

<sup>27</sup> For the primitive Mosaic character of the Decalogue, and its original form, cf. Briggs, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, and especially pp. 181 f.

<sup>28</sup> Outside of the Decalogue, the earliest code of Hebrew laws which has come down to us is the fragmentary code, in the 34th chapter of Exodus, from J, parallel to which we have, in the 21st to the 23d chapters of Exodus, a fuller code, from E. The Commandments, or Laws, in the 34th chapter of Exodus, are almost identical with those in the 23d chapter, vv.<sup>10</sup> to <sup>19</sup>, which constitute a

But it has been contended that to ascribe to Moses any such teaching as that contained in the Ten Commandments would be to leave nothing for the prophets.<sup>29</sup> It is, however, universally recognized that with Moses begins the ethical content of the religion of Israel, and that it is impossible to understand the later religious development without accounting in some way for the ethical element which was introduced into it at the time of Moses. Writers who have denied the Mosaic authorship of the Decalogue have, in point of fact, reduced Moses to a nonentity, and offered no explanation of the ethical impulse given by him; or else found it, it may be, in the adoption by the Israelites of a foreign god, an altogether inadequate cause for the remarkable ethical development which resulted from the impulse then imparted. It is necessary, as already said, to rec-

decad or decalogue of feasts and offerings. This decad in Ex. 23 is part of a larger code, consisting of a number of decades, and before that code as a whole, as we now have it, is placed the Decalogue, as something still more fundamental. It seems to me probable that the decad in Ex. 34 was part of a larger code bearing a similar relation to the Decalogue. The concluding words in Ex. 34<sup>27, 28</sup>, "and Yahaweh said to Moses: 'Write these words, for according to these words have I cut with thee a covenant, and with Israel.' And he was there with Yahaweh forty days and forty nights. Bread he ate not, and water he drank not. And he wrote on the tablets the words of the covenant, ten the words," on which has been based the statement that the Decalogue of J was the laws of Ex. 34<sup>17-26</sup>, are accordingly to be referred, not to the immediately preceding decad, but to the whole code, of which this was but a part; and the 'ten words' there referred to are not the fragments of two or three pentads, which have been retained out of J, but the well-known Decalogue. That this is so is shown further by a comparison of Deut. 10, for it seems impossible to suppose that the writer of Deuteronomy, having JE, and probably also J and E before him, could have blundered in so fundamental a point. We have, then, in their present forms, the Book of the Covenant, Ex. 21-23, and the Deuteronomic code, both prefaced by the Decalogue, as though it were something recognized as fundamental; and apparently the same was true of the code of which we have fragments in Ex. 34. In further evidence that the Decalogue once preceded the code of laws of which we have a fragment in Ex. 34 may be cited, as it seems to me, the fact that we have the "Ten Words" in Ex. 20 in a Yahawistic setting, or with a Yahawistic preface: "I am Yahaweh thy God," etc. Moreover, the additions to the Words, as Carpenter and Battersby point out, have affinities with J, as well as with E and D. The actual Words themselves find certain parallels or resemblances in both Books of the Covenant (Ex. 21-23, Ex. 34), which seems to me to establish, as far as we can expect it to be established by such means, the dependence of both those codes on the Decalogue, or rather the preëxistence and the recognition of the latter (Carpenter and Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. II., p. 111).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, p. 32.

ognize that Moses towered above his time and people, precisely as did Zoroaster, or Jesus, or Mohammed; and that we must ascribe to him a rôle of very great importance, and an ethical conception in advance of his surroundings.

But the Decalogue is not in itself without connection with previously existing ideas and practices; nor is it a step in advance so enormous as to be incredible. The Decalogue was a practical code of fundamental laws concerning the relations of Israel to its god, and of Israelites to one another. It contains, it is true, grand possibilities, and put side by side with the later prophetic teaching, and interpreted in connection with that teaching, it becomes a code of ethics and of conduct universal in its character; but that was not its primary sense.

The First Commandment, "Thou shalt have none other gods before me," was an assertion of the fact underlying the union of the tribes in one people, that Israel has one god, who has become his special god, supplanting the tribal and family deities. This was in fact the necessary condition of union. The Israelites did not attain to monotheism until a much later period, nor is the command in itself monotheistic. In fact, the words of this commandment imply a belief in the existence of other gods. That this commandment was effective from the outset, and that this one god, whose peculiar and personal name was Yahaweh, was the bond of union to Israel, is shown by the Song of Deborah, the story of Gideon, by a study of the proper names of Israelites, and, in fact, by the history of Israel in general from the beginning onward.

The Second Commandment presents a difficulty, inasmuch as from the outset it seems to be disregarded. In the time of the Judges we find images used in the worship of Yahaweh, such as the ephod which was made by Gideon out of the spoils of the Midianites (Jud. 8<sup>24</sup>), or the "ephod" and "teraphim" set up by Micah in his private temple (17<sup>6</sup>). Similarly, David consulted Yahaweh by means of an ephod (1 Sam. 23<sup>6</sup>). In David's time, also, teraphim were in use, household deities, sometimes clearly of considerable size, and made after the human form (1 Sam. 19<sup>12</sup>). These teraphim continued to be used as late certainly as the middle of the eighth century, as we see from the reference to them in Hosea (3<sup>4</sup>), and from the story of Rachel's concealment of the teraphim, in the narrative of E (Gen. 31<sup>19</sup>), although possibly about that time they began to come under condemnation as foreign idolatry (cf. Gen. 35<sup>2-4</sup>, also from E). The worship of Yahaweh under the form of the golden

calf in Israel, which began, according to the historical narrative in Kings, under Jeroboam, in the tenth century, was the most conspicuous form, however, of the authorized national use of an image. This calf-image may be closely akin to the cherubim of the temple at Jerusalem; but the latter, even though they symbolized the presence of Yahaweh, were not, apparently, conspicuously presented to the eye as objects of worship. The cherubim were merely adjuncts to the ark, which latter was the special representation of Yahaweh in the Jerusalem temple. The calves, on the other hand, seem to have been openly displayed to the people as the representatives of Yahaweh, the objects of his indwelling, and hence they were *images* in a sense in which the cherubim, even granting that the latter may have been bull-shaped, were not. Neither Elijah and Elisha, nor yet Amos, condemned the calf, or rather small bull, images, although the latter so strenuously castigated the moral transgressions of Israel and its substitution of ritual for moral righteousness. Among the prophets, it is Hosea who first denounces the calf-worship and the worship of "graven images" (11<sup>2</sup> 8<sup>5a</sup>), about the middle of the eighth century. But the same prophet seems to consider the *mazzebah*, the ephod, and the teraphim necessary adjuncts of the worship of Yahaweh (cf. 3<sup>4</sup>). Earlier than Hosea we have a condemnation of the calf-worship under the form of historical narrative, in the Israelite document E, and still earlier than this in J, the latter taking us back certainly to the ninth century. Toward the close of the eighth century, as we learn from the Book of Kings (2 Kings 18<sup>4</sup>), a brazen serpent was one of the objects of worship in the temple. Now it is worthy of note that the Israelite document E, which condemns the worship of the golden bull, did not condemn the worship of the brazen serpent, but, on the other hand, commends it as of Mosaic origin, and a means of miraculous healing (Num. 21<sup>4a</sup>). Presumably Isaiah was in sympathy with the reform which abolished the brazen serpent, although neither that nor any idol or image in the temple is mentioned by him. One gathers, rather, from his prophecies, that the images and idols which he denounced were extraneous to the temple worship, and were connected with the worship of other gods or demons. He mentions "*asherim*" and "sun-images" (17<sup>8</sup>), he speaks of "graven images and molten images" (30<sup>22</sup>), and says that "the land is full of idols" (2<sup>8</sup>), which he contrasts with the worship of Yahaweh. He also condemns the worship of oaks or terebinths (1<sup>29</sup>); but, on the other hand, like Hosea, he regards the *mazzebah* as a necessary adjunct of the worship of Yahaweh (19<sup>19</sup>). There is

no strong polemic against idol-worship in his prophecies, as there is in those of Jeremiah or Deutero-Isaiah; and in his general idea of what constitutes an image he has not advanced to the position of the reformers of the seventh century. It is in the reign of Josiah, toward the close of the seventh century, that we first meet with the effective and comprehensive condemnation of images of every sort, including the *massebah*, in the books of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, and in the action of the King, with the counsel of prophets and priests (2 Kings 23). The struggles between the iconoclasts and the iconodules was not, however, ended in a day; it went on during the exile, as is evidenced by Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, and the victory of the iconoclasts was not secure until the post-exilic period.

What was the relation of the Second Commandment to that struggle? Was it an outgrowth of the struggle? That is the view represented by Wellhausen, Kuenen, Stade, Addis, and others. Bacon, in his *Exodus*, marks this commandment as *Rd.*, that is, 'an addition to E,' to which he ascribes all the other commandments but the Fifth and Tenth (which, according to him, are also *Rd.*), 'a harmonistic adjustment of JE, or a Deuteronomic expansion, later than 722 B.C.' This seems to be approximately the opinion of Carpenter and Battersby (*The Hexateuch*, Vol. II., p. 111), who, discussing the commandments as a whole, "conjecture that they took shape between the first collection of laws and narratives in J and E, and the later reproduction of ancient *torah* in D." The argument for this position is in part one from silence, in part one from the positive disregard of and disobedience to the commandment in practice. But supposing that we consider the Second Commandment as the product of the period between Isaiah and Jeremiah, what are we to do with the commandments in E (Ex. 20<sup>23</sup>) and J (34<sup>17</sup>), which prohibit the making of gods of silver and gold, and of molten gods? They were a part of the law of God in Israel and Judah surely as early as the close of the ninth century in the latter case, and the first half of the eighth in the former. According to the theory of the above-mentioned scholars, the latter of these commandments, "Thou shalt make thee no molten gods," was included in the "Ten Words" of J. But it is precisely during the century following these "Ten Words," with their prohibition of "molten gods" or "gods of silver and gold," that the use of images was, as far as we can judge from the information at hand, most common, so that even the prophets themselves could not conceive of the worship of God without some sort of image.

As for the argument from silence, it certainly seems to me that the references of Hosea to our commandment, and indeed to the Decalogue as a whole, unless we emend him out of all recognition, are as clear as those of Jeremiah, who confessedly had the Decalogue before him in Deuteronomy as "the sole legislation of Horeb," God's word in a peculiar sense, and the foundation of the entire law of God. The second table is referred to in Hos. 4<sup>2</sup> in the same phraseology as in Jer. 7<sup>9</sup>, as "killing, stealing, and committing adultery," or, rather, Hosea is more explicit in his reference than Jeremiah, since he mentions also "false swearing." Neither mentions coveting. No other prophets but these two make an explicit reference to the commands of the Decalogue, to however late a period one descends. Now it will scarcely be contended that one pentad of the Decalogue was in existence without the other. The general evidence of Hebrew laws of itself makes us demand two full pentads, and the existence of one pentad of the Decalogue is in so far an evidence of the other. But this negative evidence of Hosea's acquaintance with the first table finds positive support, not merely in his denunciation of the calf-worship, but also in his denunciation of "graven images" (11<sup>2</sup>). The First Commandment, or at least the idea which it expresses, lies at the basis of all the teaching of Hosea and the following prophets, but is nowhere quoted by any of them. The Fourth Commandment must have been known to Hosea, for it appears in both "Books of the Covenant" (Ex. 34<sup>21</sup> and 23<sup>12</sup>), but it is not quoted nor referred to by him, while from the words of his successor, Isaiah (1<sup>18</sup>), one might well suppose that no such commandment was known in his time. Hosea certainly had the two "Books of the Covenant" behind him, with the larger mass of laws of which they were but a part, all put forth as of divine authority (8<sup>12</sup>). In that mass of laws, and included, under any understanding of their contents, among the "Ten Words," was a prohibition of images; nevertheless, that prohibition was not effective, and did not become so until the close of the seventh century. After that time, while the Decalogue was recognized as the word of God, and the teaching of historians, prophets, psalmists, and wisdom writers was in accord with its teachings, we observe a singular lack of direct citations from or references to it, and the laws of the Priest Code are quite as independent of it as the "Books of the Covenant" are claimed to be.

There is a feature of the iconoclasm of the reformation under Josiah which has been generally overlooked or underemphasized, but which is of some importance for the study of the history of the

Second Commandment. That reform went far beyond the letter of the commandment. The letter of the commandment was at that time antiquated. It specified merely "graven images"; the reform condemned the *mazzebah*. Isaiah, who had gone beyond graven images to condemn grove worship and *asherim*, had accepted the *mazzebah*; Jeremiah and the men of his time stretched the idea of the commandment to condemn the *mazzebah* also. Even the commentary on or expansion of this commandment in Deuteronomy, which, from its appearance also in Ex. 20, may be assumed to be at least somewhat older than the main book of Deuteronomy, does not cover the *mazzebah*.

This application of the commandment by a process of gradual evolution to things and conditions to which its words do not properly apply seems to me suggestive of the real history of the commandment, its interpretation, neglect, and application. That history, as I conceive it, is as follows: Moses gave the Israelites a god, Yahaweh, as their god, throughout all their tribes. The representation of this god to them was the ark. By this ark, and not by some "graven image," such as was used in Egypt, was God, Yahaweh, to be represented to them. Technically, the wording of the commandment does not prohibit the *mazzebah*, and the rude stones, trees, and the like, which constituted the representations of God in the primitive nomadic life. It was intended as a supplement to the First Commandment, to secure the service of Yahaweh as the God of Israel, in the sense already explained, by furnishing a symbol or representation of him. As the ark was thus the representation of Yahaweh, graven images would have represented some other deity, and, in fact, did represent the deities of Egypt, and were, hence, forbidden. With the entrance into Canaan and the adoption of Canaanite shrines, ritual, etc., came the inclination to adopt the Canaanite representations of deity. So long as these were adopted as representations of Yahaweh, and not of some other god, this did not so much matter, and did not seem to be a breach of the commandment. The situation is parallel with that which we find in the history of the Christian Church. In each case a practically imageless church, having among its first principles a condemnation of images, comes in contact with image-worshipping peoples. The Christians, while condemning those images as idols, when worshipped as the representations of other gods, did not regard them in the same light when adopted as representations of their own god or their saints. There seems to have been no consciousness on their part of a breach of the Second

Commandment in doing this; and they both adopted images from other religions and also made new ones of their own. The onus of the commandment, as they understood it, was against heathen idol-worship. Ultimately they developed a practical polytheism. Then came the struggle of the iconodules and iconoclasts, and, finally, the Reformation, with the triumph (in the northern and western lands of Christendom only, thus far) of the iconoclasts. The history of Israel was similar. It is with Elijah, the Wycliffe or Huss of Israel, that we meet the first mutterings of reform. His is the battle against the introduction of a foreign religion, against the substitution of Baal for Yahaweh. At first there is no denunciation of image-worship; that is not, or is not perceived to be, an issue in the struggle. Running parallel with this struggle for the national god is the writing of the story of Israel, the telling of its deeds and achievements in the past, which awakened or renewed a patriotic spirit in the people. In this story we begin to hear the call back to primitive things, and to the primitive religion of Israel, which is so strongly developed in Amos and Hosea. But before the time of those prophets this national religious movement had already led to a renaissance of Mosaism, the condemnation of strange gods in the narrative of E, referred to above, and the condemnation in both J and E of the golden calf. The golden calf was a later introduction, a substitute for the original ark, a "graven image" put in the place of the true and original representation of God given by Moses, namely, the ark. This was a period of close contact with other nations, and a time of free borrowing in things religious. The result was that a contest was joined between the nationalists and the foreignizers. The conflict between the opposing views grew constantly more defined, and in this conflict the Second Commandment gradually came to have a new and independent significance, as was the case in the history of the Christian Church, until at last things were condemned which at first had been accepted on the basis of tradition as necessary adjuncts of the service of Yahaweh. The Second Commandment itself was explained, and interpreted, and applied, until there grew up about it a definitely fixed commentary, which has come down to us in Ex. 20 and Deut. 5, attached to the original commandment. Finally, at the close of the seventh century B.C., the reformers extended the scope of the commandment even beyond the words of the commentary, to include the *mazzabah*, and every symbol of the presence of deity, except the ark itself.

The Third Commandment prohibits a false oath by the name of

Yahaweh, and is a practical assertion of the sanctity to the Israelite of the name of Yahaweh as the name of his God, to whom he stands in a peculiar relation. Not that false oaths by other gods or other names of God were allowed, but that there is a peculiar wickedness in the Israelite's making a false oath by the holy personal name of *his* God. To-day, in some Moslem lands, as I can testify from personal experience, a man who will swear falsely by Allah, or Mohammed, or even by Ali, will not do so by the shrine of the local saints; and similar conditions are vouched for by travellers in Spain and other Christian countries. This does not mean that the Moslem of those regions does not believe in Allah, Mohammed, or Ali, or the Christian in God, Christ, or the Virgin, but that his special god, who takes direct cognizance of his affairs, and whom to offend is dangerous, is the saint of that shrine. The Third Commandment ascribes that function, so far as the Israelite is concerned, to Yahaweh; and it is thus closely related in thought and purpose to the two preceding commandments. Indeed, these three are supplementary or complementary to one another.

The Fourth Commandment deals with an institution, an ancient sacred custom. It enjoins the keeping of the Sabbath as something already well known. The later additions to the Sabbath law, or the interpretations of its meaning or origin, which connect it with agricultural life, have in themselves nothing to do with the original Sabbath law. Such criticisms as that of Addis are quite beside the point, and depend on a misunderstanding of the origin and original purpose of the commandment. Addis says (*Documents of the Hexateuch*, Vol. I., p. 139): "The Sabbath implies the settled life of agriculture. An agriculturist needs rest and can rest from tillage. A nomad's life is usually so idle that no day of rest is needed, while, on the other hand, such work as the nomad does, driving cattle, milking them, etc., cannot be remitted on one day recurring every week." The Sabbath, as Jastrow has pointed out,<sup>30</sup> was not originally a day of rest, and had nothing to do with agriculture. That is part of the later application and interpretation of this commandment, but is not contained in the original "Word." The Sabbath was, in fact, an antique observance, as was the division of the week into seven days, and, apparently, a primitive Semitic conception, although no trace of it among the Arabs has yet been discovered. This commandment simply recognizes its existence, and makes it an essential feature of the Hebrew sacred law.

<sup>30</sup> *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1898.

The Fifth Commandment asserts the reverence and obedience due to a parent, in true primitive fashion, placing this reverence almost on a plane with the duty towards God. It is not ancestor-worship, and, in fact, the Hebrews never developed ancestor-worship; but it is the exaltation of the parent to a position near to that of God.

The commandments of the second table, the second pentad of the Decalogue, are more distinctly ethical, in our sense of the word, than those of the first table, and it is particularly against this pentad that the protest has been raised that they were impossible at the time of Moses.<sup>31</sup> The code is, in fact, capable of the broadest ethical interpretation, and under the Prophets it began to receive such an interpretation. But in its literal sense it constitutes no more than the foundation, the groundwork, of the ethical structure which was developed later. Now all concerns of life, in the Arabian conception, as in the early Hebrew, were governed by religion. What a man should eat, his relations to his wife, to his children, the relations of guest, of friendship, the common affairs of greeting and of etiquette, were included in the sphere of religion. Everything had its origin and its sanction from the god. This was true, also, of the ethical relation of members of a family or clan toward one another,—that they were not to murder, commit adultery, steal, bear false witness, or covet, within the limits of their own family or clan, because those things were contrary to the will of the god with whom they were all united in a bloody bond, and through whom they were united with one another in the same bond. This common clan or tribal law is made, in the second pentad of the Decalogue, the law of all Israelites toward one another, because all are become the servants or worshippers of the one God, under or in whom all are united in one tribe.

In view of the fact that we have traced an apparent connection between the ark of Moses and the godship of the Egyptians, and a probable acquaintance on Moses' part with at least some of the most striking features of Egyptian religious observance, it is worthy of notice that the commandments of the second pentad of the Decalogue may all be paralleled from the Egyptian sacred law. In the 125th chapter of the *Book of the Dead* we have the negative confession,<sup>32</sup> in which the soul of the dead is made to vindicate himself before Osiris, averring, among other things, that he has not stolen, murdered, etc. From this negative confession we can restore the

<sup>31</sup> Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Wiedemann, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*.

Egyptian sacred law, which, by the way, underwent a continual growth and development. This law was regarded as divine, and supposed to have been written by the divine scribe Thoth.<sup>33</sup> It may be, therefore, that Moses derived a suggestion not only of an ark, but also of a sacred law, from Egypt.

The remarkable feature of the Decalogue, and that which exalts it to a place apart, rendering it universal and permanent in its character, is that it selects precisely the fundamental and ethical relations, and lays the stress upon them. It is this which makes it essentially an ethical law, and it is this which gives to the religion of Israel that ethical character which distinguishes it at the outset from other religions, and renders it capable of the further development which it received. The Decalogue sets forth an ethical conception of the God of Israel as one to whom murder, adultery, theft, and the like, are especially offensive. This does not mean that the ethical relation is the only relation in which God is viewed, nor does it mean that at the outset God is viewed as one who condemns the slaughter or robbery of the enemies of Israel. Yahaweh is the God of Israel, and as such the enemy of the enemies of Israel; toward them he has no law. He must cast out and destroy the gods and their peoples before himself and his people Israel.

He is represented in the earlier writings as manifesting himself in the storm; lightning is his weapon, the thunder is his voice. This has been misinterpreted as meaning that he is a nature-god, a god of the storms. Again he is spoken of as a warrior, and hence some modern writers have interpreted him as a god of battles. In the Song of Deborah, we find him pictured as the giver of rain (Jud. 5<sup>8</sup>). He is not really a god of a special attribute, or the representation to the Israelites of natural phenomena. He is Yahaweh, the God of Israel, who fights for Israel, who manifests himself in natural phenomena; but he is not, therefore, limited to those. He covers the whole field alike.

In the early days of Islam, the characteristic feature of Allah seemed to be that he gave the victory to his followers. He seemed like a god of battle, because the special business of Islam was to fight; and the same is true at the outset of Israel and Israel's god. On his entrance into Canaan, Israel's special business was to fight for the acquisition of territory and possessions; and, in general, the business of any people in the transition from the barbarous stage is to fight battles. During that period Yahaweh was a god of war,

<sup>33</sup> Erman, *Ägypten u. ägyptisches Leben*, I., 204.

because war was the special function of his people. So, also, under primitive conditions, the most striking manifestation of divine power is the thunder-storm, and hence, particularly, the thunder-storm manifests Yahaweh. In the Deborah Song, already referred to, we see another form of manifestation, the useful and practical, becoming more pronounced as the people advance toward the settled state as cultivators of the soil.

To turn from the conception of God, and his relation to his people, to the rites by which a relation with God was established or maintained, we find circumcision taking the most prominent place. In the later period circumcision and the Sabbath become, in fact, the peculiar characteristics of the Jews. Circumcision was customary in early times not only among the Hebrews, but also among the Phœnicians and Canaanites, the Arabs and the Egyptians; in fact, all the people in the immediate neighborhood of the Hebrews, with the exception of the Philistines, practised this rite. It is not, apparently, an original Semitic practice, since we do not find it among the Babylonians and Assyrians. It may have been introduced into Phœnicia, Palestine, and Arabia, from Egypt. The Hebrews apparently inherited it from their forefathers in those regions. A curious reference in one of the oldest passages of the Pentateuch (Ex. 4<sup>24-26</sup>) connects Moses with circumcision, and suggests that in some manner or other circumcision assumed a new shape at his time. Possibly the change was the transfer in age, so that, instead of circumcising on the entrance into manhood, which seems to have been the original form of the rite, it was transferred to infancy, as we find it among the Israelites during the entire historical period. Circumcision was connected with the blood-covenant, as is shown by the passage referred to. It is clear, also, from 1 Sam. 18, that in the time of Saul and David it was a part of the holiness-regulation, that is, of the peculiar relation of the Israelite to his God, so that there was a special stigma attaching to peoples who did not practise this rite. The same view is set forth in the oldest history of the earlier days (Josh. 5<sup>2, 3, 8, 9</sup>), where circumcision is regarded as the condition of the covenant-relation of Israel with its God. But here the rite seems to be connected in time with the entrance into Canaan, as though first adopted as a national rite on the entrance into that country.

In general, so far as rites and ceremonies were concerned, it seems probable that Moses left them with little change as he found them. If we ask after the position which Moses claims for himself,

we find him represented as a priest rather than a warrior, the founder of a cult, connecting itself closely with a special symbol of divinity, the ark, with its contents, the Decalogue. Later, we find a priesthood hereditary in his family, the priests of the temple of Dan deriving their origin from him (Jud. 17, 18). On the other hand, it is clear that he did not regard himself as a priest in any exclusive sense, or found a priesthood hereditary only in his family, or even assume for himself or for his family the guardianship of the ark. That position was assigned by him, according to what sounds like a reliable tradition, to an Ephraimite, Joshua (Ex. 33<sup>11</sup>), and the later priestly caste was derived by tradition not from Moses, but from his brother Aaron. Moses' own special function as priest seems to have been the interpretation of the oracles of God.

## Unto Romans: XV. and XVI.

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IN a former paper we have considered the textual facts concerning the address and destination of the chief of Pauline epistles, in so far as these lay before us in the opening chapter and in the general situation as commonly understood. The conclusions recommended by that study were found to be distinctly at variance with those ordinarily accepted. In the following pages we shall try to forget our earlier study and to yield ourselves without recalcitrance to the natural guidance of an entirely different body of facts presenting themselves in the last two chapters. These are incomparably more numerous and complicated than those already treated; indeed, they yield in these respects to no others that meet us in New Testament study. But they are not far to seek; they are in large measure exactly ascertainable, and even already ascertained; and so great is their significance, both direct and indirect, as to justify the most painstaking investigation.

Our final judgment must rest upon two entirely separate bases of support, the internal and the external evidence, and it is perhaps a matter of indifference which we study first; but since a choice must be made, we shall begin with the former and let our mind play freely upon it, unaffected, so far as possible, by the latter.

## I.

Almost any attentive English reader, in passing from the 14th to the 15th chapter of Romans, must become conscious of something strange or peculiar, though he may be unable to say what it is. Certainly it is not a change of subject. The general theme of the 14th chapter is forbearance, consideration of one for another. This has been elaborated at great length through 23 verses, and presented from almost every point of view, even at the expense of no little repetition of thought in slightly varying words. Compare vv.<sup>4, 10, 12, 13, 20, 15b, 21</sup>, etc. Apparently the discussion, so fragmentary and continually returning

upon itself, has been closed with the apophthegm, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." At the very best, then, one is surprised to find precisely the same subject resumed in 15<sup>1</sup>: "Now we that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves." Verse<sup>2</sup> then brings us back exactly to the previous verse<sup>10</sup>, to the notion of edifying one another. Our surprise increases to find that the subject thus formally introduced is immediately dismissed, this time finally. The verses that follow are connected merely mechanically by certain words. Verse<sup>3</sup> adduces the example of Christ as supposedly referred to in a *Scripture*; v.<sup>4</sup> shows that all *Scriptures* are written for our *comfort*; v.<sup>5</sup><sup>6</sup> prays the God of *comfort* to make them a unit in mind, accord, and mouth unto the *glory* of God; v.<sup>7</sup> exhorts them to receive one another unto this same *glory*, while the following verses,<sup>8-10</sup>, would show that, while the Jews who believe on Christ are saved by right, to maintain the truth of God and fulfil his promises to the fathers, the Gentiles are saved by mercy, for which they *glorify* God. Apparently this latter idea is the one aimed at in the whole paragraph and finally reached by the steps indicated in italics. It can hardly be that any of these intermediate notions are presented for their own sake, else why are they dismissed so instantly? We can liken them to nothing else so well as to switches on a railroad track. Each serves to turn off the thought into an entirely different path without wrecking the whole train, until suddenly we find ourselves moving at right angles to the course on which we started.

This seems to be a most puzzling procedure for any one writing freely at first hand: v.<sup>1</sup> reopens a discussion already closed with great formality, but straightway drops it and turns off by a highly artificial path to something wholly diverse. The feeling of bewilderment which overtakes the English reader at this point, and which we have tried to analyze, is much intensified on reading the Greek. The *δέ* is more closely continuative than "Now," and we are puzzled by the sudden apparition of two classes, the Able and the Unable (*οἱ δυνατοί* and *οἱ ἀδύνατοι*): "and we ought, we the Able, to bear the infirmities of the Unable." These are spoken of as two classes perfectly familiar to the readers; yet no mention has been made of either hitherto. "He that is weak in the faith" (*τὸν δὲ ἀσθενοῦντα τῇ πίστει*) seems to be another; at least, the terms used are not the same. Of these Able and Unable we hear nothing more, nor can we ascertain who they were. That there should have been two such well-marked orders from the beginning of the Roman congregation,

that Paul should have known about them so accurately as to rank himself at once undisputedly with the one, and assume a tone of condescension toward the other, — all this seems strange and very hard to understand. Everything considered, we are here in the presence of a riddle, which no art of Hermes has yet availed to unravel. If we were dealing with anything but a Pauline epistle, the suspicion would certainly arise that this paragraph was a later addendum, that its author intended to attach it as closely as possible to the foregoing chapter, and for that reason resumed the subject in vv.<sup>1, 2</sup>, only to pass swiftly away from it by the curved track of vv.<sup>3, 4, 5, 6, 7</sup>, to what was really in his mind, the relation of Jew and Gentile, set forth in vv.<sup>8-12</sup>, while the whole closes with the benediction of v.<sup>13</sup>. Would Professor Charles entertain any doubt on this point, if the writing were the Book of Enoch?

Let us now consider this main thought of v.<sup>8</sup>: "For I say that Christ has become a Minister of Circumcision, for the sake of God's truth, in order to confirm the promises of the fathers, but that the Gentiles glorified God on account of mercy." It seems impossible to mistake the meaning of these words, as Judaic and ultra-Judaic. Christ is declared to be "Minister of Circumcision," which must signify one who promotes or represents circumcision, and the mildest meaning this can have is the champion of the Jewish people. That so much at least is signified, follows necessarily from the object of this ministry as stated: "To establish [make good] the promises of the fathers," *i.e.* the promises made to the Jewish patriarchs. We do not see how it is possible to form a more strictly Judaic conception of the office of the Messiah. In order, however, to leave nothing unsaid, to distinguish as sharply as possible between Jew and Gentile, the writer continues: "But [I say] that the Gentiles praised God for mercy." In other words, salvation and glorification had been promised to the fathers for their posterity, the Jews. In order to fulfil (*βεβαιῶσαι*) these promises, and so maintain the truth (or fidelity) of God (*ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ*), Christ became "Minister of Circumcision," whatever that may be. Thus, salvation belongs to the Jews of *right*, it is an obligation on the part of God, who must fulfil his promises and maintain his truth; but with Gentiles, it is quite another matter: to them God has made *no* promises, is under no pledge; their salvation is purely of grace; it is for his *mercy* that they praise God. We do not dwell on the Scriptures alleged in proof of this doctrine, which have plainly no semblance of pertinency, but we ask concerning the unmistakable doctrine itself: Is it

Paulinism? Is it the teaching of *Galatians* or of *Romans*? Does it consist with "There is no distinction," 3<sup>22</sup>? with 3<sup>30</sup>? with 10<sup>12</sup> ("for there is no distinction both of Jew and of Greek")? - Can we conceive of the author of this verse as writing the Epistle to the Galatians? And if such be his final dictum, why did he write this long argument for Romans? Why did he through a dozen chapters so laboriously produce a certain impression, which at the end he obliterates by one stroke of the pen? The doctrine of this verse is very plain and even plausible; if Paul has meant this all the time, why did he not say so frankly and clearly at the outset? Can we think of the apostle as a woman in love, who reserves the whole secret of her heart for a postscript? To our mind this is nothing less than incredible.

It is futile to attempt to shelter this un-Pauline passage behind another equally un-Pauline, as 11<sup>15-16</sup>. Undoubtedly there are found more than once precisely-such contradictions in the Chief Letters, in *Romans* itself. But these constitute the true problems of New Testament exegesis, which imperiously demand solution and by no means solve one another. In them lies the secret of Christianity. The homoeopathic treatment, adopted even by Lipsius, has long been a favorite with commentators, and a stone of stumbling in the way of true criticism. Propound them a riddle in *Galatians*, and at once they answer by another in *Ephesians*; conundrums in *Mark* they resolve readily by enigmas in *John*. But we maintain firmly that two negatives in different chapters do not make an affirmative; neither, for the understanding of the New Testament, is there any help in Hahnemann. We hold that the deliverances of the apostle must be judged by the same logical law as the deliverances of any other intelligence: if he taught, as in *Galatians* and elsewhere in this epistle, the most ultra-anti-Judaism, then he could not teach the ultra-Judaism of these verses and remain an honest man. Nay, he would have been foolish as well as dishonest, to contradict so flatly in a postscript without explanation the tedious elaborations of the foregoing chapters. And when Lipsius says in defence, "Die scharfe Unterscheidung zwischen Juden und Heiden findet sich mindestens ebenso bestimmt 11<sup>16-24</sup>," it is enough to answer: "So much the worse for the Paulinity of 11<sup>16-24</sup>." Who has ever suggested even a plausible reason for supposing that Paul really wrote or inspired those verses?

We pause but a moment on v. 13, though it contains much food for reflection. How inflated this benediction! How strangely placed

in the midst of the epistle! How uncertain the text! Shall we read πληρώσαι, or πληροφορήσαι (with BFG)? Is not the un-Pauline ἐν τῷ πιστεῖν (not found in DFGdefgm Arm.) with εἰς τὸ περισσεύειν (not found in B 57) a plain conflation? It would seem hard to imagine a conclusion rhyming better with the notion that this paragraph<sup>1-13</sup> is a later addendum.

The most obvious remark concerning the next passage, vv.<sup>14-22</sup>, is that it has no immediate connection with the foregoing. "But I am persuaded, my brethren, even I myself, concerning you, that also you yourselves are full of goodness, having been filled with all the knowledge [*gnosis*], able also to admonish one another." It is vain to say this connects immediately with the foregoing exhortation (Lipsius); formally, yes; but not really; it might as well be attached anywhere else. The next observation is that the emphasis is extremely labored and overstrained, and the style plethoric. But these considerations are slight, by the side of those that meet us in vv.<sup>15-19</sup>. The writer seems to be apologizing for writing "too boldly in part" (τολμηρότερον[-ως] ἀπὸ μέρους = *kühner (als erforderlich), stellenweise*), but in these nine verses ideas are not expressed, they are merely dimly shadowed forth: we see only men as trees walking; and it seems to be the purpose of the writer to avoid committing himself to anything beyond intimations, though the uncertainty of the text makes even this uncertain. So much, however, we may say with all confidence: that *the ground-note of this section is apologetic, and that in so far it is entirely discordant with the Introduction, 1<sup>2-15</sup>*. There the writer's spirit was as far as possible from apology for *visiting* the Romans, much less for *writing* to them; on the contrary, he excuses himself for *not* coming to them, on the ground that he had indeed often planned a visit, but his plans had miscarried; and he cannot find a single expression quite strong enough to voice adequately his yearning, and prayer, and purpose to visit them, but he piles up intensives one upon another. There is no possibility of mistake here. The tenor can not be misunderstood. If the writer be honest, he had long been planning a visit to Rome, in the hope of strengthening them, of preaching the gospel, and of winning converts for the gospel; and whatever were the causes that thwarted these plans, they lay outside himself, in the circumstances of his situation; they did *not* lie within him; there all was perfect readiness to preach gospel to "you that are in Rome" just as well as to any other people, either Jew or Gentile. Here, however, the case is precisely reversed. The writer apologizes, in a vague and almost

unintelligible way, it is true, yet indubitably he apologizes for even writing to these Roman readers; he is modest to a degree: he will not call himself an apostle, but only a "Minister of Christ Jesus"; he protests that he has never preached and will never preach gospel where Christ has been named, lest he build on another's foundation; and finally he disclaims in a marvellously awkward fashion all intention of preaching or staying in Rome (?) and assures them he intends only to stop over *in transitu* on his way to Spain! We affirm that these two passages (1<sup>8-13</sup> and 15<sup>14-24</sup>) contradict each other absolutely and at every point; not indeed grammatically and outwardly, but, what is far more important, inwardly and psychologically. When we represent to ourselves the moods, the tempers, which the two passages necessarily imply, we find them as utterly opposed as can be, nor is there any possibility of uniting them in the same person. The language here used may sound strong, but it does not nearly render our sense of the fundamental antagonism between these two paragraphs, an antagonism as deep as the soul of man; nor can we believe that any unbiassed intelligence can read and re-read the passages and vividly realize the affections they imply, without a like lively feeling of the discord between them.

On minuter examination we shall find this general impression deepened and strengthened. As already observed, this section is certainly apologetic, but for what it is not so easy to determine. Apparently for writing "more boldly in part" (than was proper or necessary), though what part is referred to, no man can say; but to make out any satisfactory connection between vv.<sup>14</sup> and <sup>15</sup> seems a hopeless undertaking. Stripped of all verbiage these stand thus: "I know you are good and wise, but [*δέ = doch*, Lipsius] I wrote you more boldly in part [than was necessary]." It is this adversative "but [nevertheless]" that is so hard to understand in connection with the "more boldly." If it stood, "I know you are babes in the faith, and need careful instruction, nevertheless I may have written too boldly at times," etc., the thought would seem natural; as it is, it seems awkward and inverted. Let this pass, however; now and then even Homer nods. We now inquire what was the object of the writing — a most important question, over which generations of critics have cudgelled their brains to no purpose. It is answered in three words only: "To remind you" (*ὡς ἐπαναμνησκῶν ὑμᾶς*). But he who reminds must remind of something; of what then is the writer's reminder? The text furnishes no answer whatever! The following clause tells *why* he reminded, "because of the grace," etc. but does

not even hint of what he reminds. Now this *why* is not the question that would naturally interest either us or the original readers; it is the *what* that we want to know about, and here we are left in utter darkness. On looking closely at this why, we find that it is apparently an authorization of this reminder, of this letter: "I wrote to remind you, because of the grace that was given me from God, for me to be a priest of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles, ministering sacrificially the gospel of God that the oblation of the Gentiles may become acceptable, having been sanctified in Holy Spirit." Herein, then, lay his right to address them such a letter. Here, then, is the real thought: a defence of the author's right to address such an epistle to such readers, — he was priest of Christ Jesus unto the Gentiles. This reason may be good in itself, but what possible fitness has it on the lips of him who has already proclaimed himself, "Paul, servant of Christ Jesus, elect Apostle, . . . through whom we received grace and Apostleship unto obedience among all the Gentiles for his name's sake, among whom are ye"; who has already professed his year-long prayer and purpose, nay, his inviolable obligation, to visit them and evangelize among them, his complete readiness to preach gospel to all alike everywhere? What has occurred to transform the sublimely daring apostle into a fawning, cringing priest? And what a remarkable conception is this of Paul, as "the official of Christ Jesus, ministering in sacrifice the gospel of God, that the oblation of the Gentiles may become well-pleasing." The imagery is ungainly and repulsive, and, what is more, it is thoroughly hieratic, while the thought and the tendence are ultra-Judaic. Moreover, there is a whole group of unfamiliar terms, *λειτουργός, προσφορά, ιερουργούντα*, the last not elsewhere in the New Testament. If the *Autor ad Galatas* or *ad Romanos* wrote such words as these to these same Romans, then nothing is impossible; Coke may have written Hamlet, we may believe anything of anybody.

The next, v.<sup>17</sup>, "I have therefore the glorying in Christ Jesus as to things pertaining to God," connects, if at all, only loosely with vv.<sup>16</sup> and <sup>18</sup>. The following verses, <sup>18-22</sup>, contain a vindication of the writer's preaching to the Gentiles, but in the strange form of a disclaimer of all glorying, save in what Christ had wrought through him most marvellously. Hereby uncalled-for modesty is combined with extraordinary pretensions: from Jerusalem, and in a circle as far as Illyricum, he has fulfilled the gospel of the Christ. Further on he declares he "has no more room in these regions," and hence hastens to lift aloft the standard of the cross, above the western wave, in farthest Hispa-

nia. The very best that can be said of these statements is that they are gross rhetorical exaggerations; the latter is indeed absurd. Had the writer said that he would now move upon the great capital city, having evangelized in some measure the Orient, we might have accepted it as the plan of a masterly spirit; but to say that there was no more field for his activity in the immense and densely populated and highly civilized East, not a tithe of which had heard of the gospel, and that he must therefore pass over, not to Rome or even to Italy, but to the remote and semi-barbarous Spain, to find scope for his powers, is simply preposterous. For our part, we refuse to ascribe such fustian to the Apostle Paul.

It would be hard to imagine a more thorough undoing of this notion, that Paul went or intended to go to Spain because he had "no more room" in the East, than is furnished by Lightfoot himself in his "Chronology of St. Paul's Life and Epistles" (*Biblical Essays*, p. 223). He places the apostle's arrival at Rome 61 A.D.; his release from prison 63 A.D. What then does Paul do? Hasten on to Spain? By no means! He makes a "first journey eastward, revisits Macedonia," Philippi the fourth time, then "revisits Asia and Phrygia," also visits Colossae, and "founds the church of Crete." All this extensive and continued activity in the "parts" where five years before he had no room! Now at last, thinks Lightfoot, he "visits Spain, Gaul, Dalmatia." Where is the evidence? Why, in 2 Tim. 4<sup>10</sup> we read: "For Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica, Crescens to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia"!! But even Lightfoot cannot pretend that Paul stayed any considerable time in Spain. For there follows in his scheme a "second journey eastward," in which the apostle is made to "revisit Asia and Phrygia, Ephesus, Macedonia, Philippi, Achaia, Crete, Asia, Miletus, Troas, Corinth," and on his way to Nicopolis he is arrested and carried away to Rome to martyrdom 68 A.D. To be sure, all this "globe-trotting" is on paper only, but it shows indisputably that the great bishop did not himself for a moment believe that there was no more room in Asia, much less in Greece, and Italy, and Africa, for the apostle, and that he did not take the Spanish journey at all seriously.

Not less suspicious is v.<sup>20</sup>: "And so being [or am I] ambitious to evangelize not where Christ was named, lest I build on another's foundation." This sounds like a redoubled and exaggerated echo of some very indistinct words in 2 Cor. 10<sup>14</sup><sup>17</sup>. Moreover, it seems pitiful and thoroughly pusillanimous. That Paul should studiously

avoid preaching where any one else had preached, where Christ had even been named, appears ridiculous and unbelievable, and finds no semblance of warrant either in Corinthians or in the Book of Acts. Is it possible that such base jealousies guided the counsels of the early preachers of Christ? We cannot believe it.

Moreover, it sharply contradicts the Introduction, 1<sup>6-18</sup>, where the writer declares it had long been his purpose to preach to them (in Rome) and reiterates his readiness, and eagerness, and sacred duty to preach alike to all men everywhere. It is useless to expatiate on this point. He who does not perceive the contradiction as well as the unlikelihood here would hardly perceive them anywhere.

These verses, 23-25, present an extraordinary hiatus in structure as well as remarkable textual uncertainty. To us it appears incredible that the Apostle Paul, writing to Roman strangers in straightforward, honest fashion, about a matter of business, should express himself in such a lumbering, confused, unmeaning manner as the following: "Wherefore also I was hindered these many times from coming unto you, but now having no longer room in these regions, and having yearning to come unto you for many years, as perchance I may fare into Spain—for I hope as I fare through to behold you and to be sent on thither by you, if first in part I be sated of [seeing] you—but now I fare unto Jerusalem, ministering to the saints. For they pleased, Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain communion unto the poor of the saints, those in Jerusalem. For they pleased, and their debtors they are. For if the Gentiles communed in their spiritual things, they are in debt also to minister to them in the carnal things." It would be hard for a schoolboy to write more wretched English, but the Greek is no better. What is the author really trying to say? Apparently he is trying to avoid saying anything positively, but will merely hint vaguely that he has no thought of preaching or staying in Rome. As already observed more than once, such a frame of mind is the diametrical opposite of that displayed in the Introduction. Along with this timorous deprecation there goes what a *captatio benevolentiae*! He has been hindered so many times from visiting them, has had yearning to visit them for many years, and now, though he will not dare make them the longed-for visit, yet he will venture upon a passing call, on his way to Spain, only to behold them (*θεάσασθαι* = view with wonder, or as a mere gratification of the sight), and to be sent on by them when he has partly fed his eyes full of them (*ἐὰν ὑμῶν πρῶτον ἀπὸ μέρους ἐμπλησθῶ*)! What Oriental courtier ever indited more unctuous flattery? Is this

Paul, the apostle, who declared not long before: "Do I seek to please men? Were it men I still pleased, Christ's servant I should not be"? We do not see how any one can ascribe these verses to the apostle, and yet retain any reverence for the apostle himself.

On closer inspection, perhaps the most obvious peculiarity of our passage is the hiatus that yawns after "Spain": all is protasis up to this point, but no apodosis follows; the sentence begun is never completed. In rapid impassioned declamation, or in high-wrought lyrical composition, this might be forgiven; but what must we think of it in the most leisurely narrative of a most deliberate writer, who, as the greatest critics assure us, watches over his tenses and his particles with the most scrupulous care? Observe also the frequent repetitions and tautophones: τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . . τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς; νυνὶ δὲ . . . νυνὶ δὲ; ἡνδόκησαν γὰρ . . . ἡνδόκησαν γάρ; πορεύομαι . . . διαπορευόμενος . . . πορεύομαι; κοινωνίαν . . . ἐκοινωνήσαν; καὶ ὀφείλεται . . . ὀφείλουσιν καί. Note also how the author has quilted his verses from scraps of earlier writings: compare ἐνεκοπτόμην τὰ πολλὰ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς with πολλάκις προσθέμην ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐκωλύθην (1<sup>18</sup>); ἐπιποθίαν δὲ ἔχων τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς with ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς; ἐλπίζω γὰρ διαπορευόμενος θεάσασθαι ὑμᾶς with οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἄρτι ἐν παρόδῳ ἰδεῖν (1 Cor. 16<sup>7</sup>), where the variations ἐλπίζω for οὐ θέλω and θεάσασθαι for ἰδεῖν are subtle and intentional, — observe also ἐλπίζω γάρ in the same verse; ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι with ὑμεῖς με προπέμψητε (1 Cor. 16<sup>6</sup>); ὡς ἂν πορεύωμαι with οὗ ἂν πορεύωμαι; Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα with Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν (Acts 19<sup>21</sup>); πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ with πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα (Acts 19<sup>21</sup>).

This collection is not called λογία, as in 1 Cor. 16<sup>1</sup>, but more sanctimoniously κοινωνία, as in the later 2 Cor. 8<sup>4</sup> 9<sup>13</sup>; hence λειτουργῆσαι (2 Cor. 9<sup>12</sup>); hence also the διακονῶν τοῖς ἁγίοις (2 Cor. 8<sup>4</sup> 9<sup>1</sup>), while τοὺς πτωχοὺς comes from Gal. 2<sup>10</sup>. The explicitness of "unto the poor of the saints, those in Jerusalem" seems to be the mark of a compiler. Thus, all the ideas and nearly all the phrases of these verses appear to be culled from elsewhere; the author's only addition is "unto Spain," and it is precisely this same that turns the whole to nonsense: for this abandonment of the East, in favor of the West, is a mere romantic conceit, without any sanction either in Corinthians or in Acts, where the goal of Paul is not Spain but Rome (19<sup>21</sup>), or in common sense. This inability to add any fresh and inherently probable detail to his authorities is the sure mark of a late reviser.

This want of originality shows itself, unless we err, very strikingly

in v.<sup>26</sup>. What shall we say of the expression "Having sealed them this fruit"? What mind working freely would of itself elaborate such an image? It is in vain that acute conjecturers have lashed their wits over *σφραγισάμενος*; their best guesses do not really mend matters. But we think we can divine the mind of the writer. He is bound fast to scriptural words and idioms, he will vary hardly a hair's breadth. Now in 1<sup>13</sup> there was talk of "some fruit" (*τινὰ καρπὸν*), and in 2 Cor. 1<sup>22</sup> is found "He who also sealed us" (*ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς*), and in 1 Cor. 9<sup>2</sup> the Corinthians are called "The seal of my Apostolate" (*ἡ γὰρ σφραγίς, κ.τ.λ.*). This was enough for such a compositor, who produced therefrom the monstrous hybrid *σφραγισάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸν καρπὸν τοῦτον*, — where "fruit" means not converts but collection!

Among so many rocks of offence it is not easy to say what is the chief, but the notion that the Gentiles should share their carnal goods with the Jews *because* the Jews had shared their spiritual goods with the Gentiles, is as un-Pauline as can be imagined, besides being bizarre and ridiculous. To suppose that the author of *Galatians* and *Romans* seriously entertained any such grotesque, ultra-Judaic idea is to dissolve his whole personality in contradictions.

The concern of the writer to persuade the Romans that they need have no fear, that he will not stay, but will merely pass on by, is really amusing; thus again in v.<sup>28</sup>: "I shall go away, passing by you into Spain." And right on the heels of this pleading for a night's lodging, with promise to leave early in the morning, comes this boast: "But I know that coming unto you I shall come in fulness of blessing of Christ." To our mind there is no literary judgment more inevitable than this: it is not the apostle but his impersonator that here speaks.

In the presence of such facts it is almost dumbfounding to read in Lightfoot's first Essay (p. 313): "It never once occurs to him [Paul] that he is intruding on the province of others." Now here are fifteen verses that are either apologetic or nothing at all, wholly unmeaning. Lightfoot himself admits that the apostle "apologizes for speaking to the Romans with overboldness"; but that is in v.<sup>15</sup>, and in the thirteen that follow and form the bulk and the essence of the apology, there is no hint of any overboldness, except in writing and going to the Romans. There is no point at all in the pompous description of his ministry to the Gentiles, unless it be an implied vindication of his mission unto them; there is no point whatever in this emphasis of his maxim about not preaching where Christ was

already named, unless he is forestalling some accusation of intrusion; there is not the least meaning in his repeated insistence that he will not stay in Rome, but will merely gaze upon them in transit and pass away into Spain, unless he would acknowledge Rome as forbidden ground, through which he may indeed seek a right of way, but nothing more. This general purport of this cautiously-veiled pericope is unmistakable, not only *in spite of* but precisely *because of* the veiling. Surely no one can maintain that everything in these verses is plain, artless, straightforward; even a thoughtful child, on reading them, must perceive that more is meant than meets the ear. And what possible significance can this "more" have other than we have given it? Has any apologist ever suggested? Will any ever suggest? We pause for a reply.

If the immense learning of the British bishop has not saved him from purblindness, neither has the matchless erudition of the German professor delivered him from self-contradiction. Zahn cannot deny that this section represents Rome as practically tabu to the apostle, whom he fancies as confining himself to "*Grundlegen*," as starting the Christian work here, there, everywhere, and then leaving it for others, as soon as started—a mere idle fancy, whose only recommendation is that Zahn needs it, contradicted sharply by the Antiochian, Ephesian, Macedonian, and Corinthian life of the apostle; he admits repeatedly that Rome was only a *Durchgangspunkt* (p. 260); that merely writing to the Romans was not *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι*, and hence only was excusable (p. 293); that Paul did not think to effect much in Rome (*er doch in Rom nicht viel auszurichten gedenkt*); and so on *passim*. Nevertheless, Prisca and Aquila, consecrated to the *Missionspläne* of the apostle, along with Epænetus, had gone to Rome as soon as Paul left Ephesus, to prepare the ground for him there, as they had already done in Ephesus (*um auch dort, wie ehemals in Ephesus, dem Apostel das Quartier zu bereiten*, p. 274); he hopes to evangelize successfully the unconverted population of Rome (*er hofft auch der ihrer Masse nach unbekehrten Bevölkerung Roms mit Erfolg Ev. zu predigen*, p. 253); he names only this missionary preaching as the object of his coming (*nennt er als Zweck seines Kommens nur die Missionspredigt*, p. 253); and by 1<sup>10</sup> can be meant only a successful missionary activity among the population of Rome (*nur eine erfolgreiche Missionswirksamkeit unter der Bevölkerung Roms*, p. 263). If these be not glaring contradictions, then we do not know contradictions when we see them. But of such is the kingdom of apology. Zahn and his confrères constitute their works

of makeshifts and *Nothbehelfe* and all manner of antinomies. Whatever quack remedy offers a moment's alleviation they seize with eagerness, unmindful of the agony they are preparing for the morrow. For them sufficient unto the page is the evil thereof.

In further illustration we may take Godet, who imagines a colony of Pauline converts sent on ahead by Paul to look over the ground and prepare that all-important field for his sowing, and this in the face of the fact that Paul protested his intention merely to view the Romans on his way to Spain! So, too, Sanday and Headlam think this elaborate treatise was addressed to scattered groups of wapderers in Rome, some from Ephesus (sent by Paul), some from Tarsus, more from Antioch, forming "not exactly an organized Church, but such a fortuitous assemblage of Christians as was only waiting for the advent of an Apostle to constitute one"; and again they speak of it as "only a small community, which had grown up chiefly as composed of settlers from other places"; again, it consists of little groups scattered over the great city "without any complete and centralized organization." Yet to these few scattering Christians, not yet a church, is addressed the most elaborate document of early Christianity; they are in peculiar danger of false doctrines that will assail them as a shining mark (16<sup>17-19</sup>); they are so important that Paul dares not intrude upon them; they occupy the mighty metropolis so that he cannot stay there but must hurry on to Spain; they receive the salutations of all Christendom; and Sanday and Headlam themselves, in their paraphrase, speak of "the world-wide fame which as a *united Church* you bear for your earnest Christianity"! These expositors think his "imagination had been fired at the prospect of winning a foothold for Christ and the Gospel in the seat of Empire itself"; and yet, in stating his plans he is careful to guard against the idea that he intends to stay any time in Rome, but promises twice to look and pass!

We may not dismiss this section without noticing a favorite argument for the genuineness of this pericope, derived from this very project of a visit to Spain. It is said that it was perfectly natural for Paul to disclose such a purpose in advance, in ignorance that it would never be fulfilled; but for his impersonator, years after his death, in full knowledge that such purpose would be frustrated, to put it into the mouth of the apostle, would be highly improbable if not impossible. This argument, so confidently advanced, limps painfully in both feet. In the first place, it is not known that Paul did not go to Spain. Two passages, one in the Muratorian Fragment, the other in

the First Epistle (so-called) of Clement to the Corinthians, seem to attest, if not the fact, at least a tradition, or rumor, or surmise that the apostle actually visited Hispania. Nothing certain can be made out of these passages, and it is useless to dwell on them; but the indisputable fact that with the last verse of the "We-account" Paul the apostle vanishes from history, cripples this vaunted argument hopelessly. However, we do not deny that the Spanish mission seems to us very improbable, and we are quite willing to concede, for argument's sake, that it never took place; yea, we think it most unlikely that the idea was ever entertained. But all this could not weigh a feather with the impersonator. There is no semblance of reason to suppose this latter wrote before the end of the second century, at least four generations after the death of Paul. By that time the life of the apostle was naught but a gigantic shadow thrown upon the present from a dim-remembered past. Neither the impersonator nor any one else knew anything whatever concerning the last days of the great missionary. Even in this day of printing and careful biography, what can the average presiding elder tell you accurately about the last days of John Wesley? The second or third century impersonator, in all likelihood, knew little if anything more about Paul than we do, his sources of information were but little purer, and he used them with perhaps no critical care or concern. Where no one knew, each might fancy what he pleased. If the idea that Paul preached gospel even unto the Pillars of Hercules seemed edifying, the impersonator would unhesitatingly adopt it, and there was none to say him nay.

But even if there had been a directly counter tradition, it would have made no difference. The notion is entirely false that the second-century writers were bound down to any definite historical form in their redactions. That the gospels are discrepant in nearly every chapter, that Acts and the Epistles are irreconcilable, is a commonplace of criticism. To exhibit the genesis of these antagonisms is a fundamental problem of New Testament theory. The *Vorgeschichte* of Luke contradicts that of Matthew at nearly every point; the Fourth Gospel jars with the Synoptics from beginning to end. Even if we should concede that harmonistic may patch up some artificial concord in every instance, — a wholly impossible concession, — the case would not be altered; the apparent discord is all we have to consider, and that would remain as harsh as ever. As soon as we turn to the choir of extra-canonical early Christian writers, our ears are assailed by a veritable babel. There is not one early

author that does not clash defiance to the New Testament Scriptures. Thus, Irenaeus contends that Jesus reached his fiftieth year, and where did Ignatius get his notion of the nativity (Eph. 19)? That the impersonator of Paul should send him to Spain has in no case a single feature of improbability.

The same remarks apply with full force to the further objection that a second-century author would not have put into Paul's mouth a futile prayer for escape from the unbelievers in Jerusalem. But the prayer need *not* appear futile, for he *was* delivered (according to Acts). Is it replied, Yes, but he came as a prisoner, and not "in joy" nor "in fulness of Christ's blessing," to Rome? We answer that Acts knows of no hindrance put on Paul's activity in Rome; he preached "with all boldness, none forbidding him." His imprisonment, if it had any reality at all, was merely nominal. There was nothing in it to prevent "joy" and "blessing." Besides, there is most excellent reason to believe that the whole story of the trouble at Jerusalem, and the imprisonment, is misplaced, and that Paul went to Rome a *freeman*.

At this point we must ask indulgence for a digression. It would seem rather late in the day to enter a formal refutation of Paley's arguments in his *Horae Paulinae*, pp. 1-65, nor would there be any reason for doing so, had they not received recently such unqualified endorsement in such authoritative circles. Jowett has pronounced them decisive, and he is echoed by Lightfoot and Hort, who in turn are echoed by Sanday and Headlam. What then are these reasonings so hale and hearty, though hoary with a hundred years? Time is rarely so merciful to the syllogisms even of a Paley.

They are all based on certain supposed "undesigned coincidences" between the epistles and Acts, or between different epistles, or different parts of the same epistle. In the case of *Romans*, they number eight, of which first and chief is the coincidence between Rom. 15<sup>25, 26</sup> and Acts 20<sup>2, 3</sup> and 24<sup>17-19</sup>, 1 Cor. 16<sup>1-4</sup>, 2 Cor. 8<sup>1-4</sup> 9<sup>2</sup>. In *Romans* we have data agreeing with those in three other writings, and Paley thinks such "conformity beyond the possibility of random writing to produce," and "in the highest degree improbable" as "the effect of contrivance and design." For the forger, he thinks, could have had no other purpose than that of "giving color to his forgery by the appearance of conformity with other writings which were then extant"; and such a purpose he thinks unreasonable, since "coincidences so circuitous as this answer not the ends of forgery." He who reads this essay attentively need hardly be told that Paley has

mistaken the character of the passage entirely. The aim of the impersonator is by no means to mask a forgery. He is trying through the whole pericope (<sup>14-33</sup>) to break, as gently as possible, the force of the bold Introduction, 1<sup>8-15</sup>; so he represents the apostle as apologizing for writing, and as reiterating that he would not pay them a visit, but would merely look in upon them and pass by on to Spain. The whole situation is a transparent device of this impersonator, who, as we have seen, has taken nearly all his phrases from preëxistent sources, and has added only one circumstance of his own invention, namely, "To Spain," thereby, however, reducing the whole to absurdity; for we repeat, and the repetition cannot be made too emphatic, that the notion of Paul's abandoning Asia and Africa, Greece and Italy, with all their infinite, unexplored possibilities, for the rugged regions of Spain, is chimerical and without any historical warrant of any kind whatever. The apparent strength of the Paleian argument lies entirely in its naïveté and superficiality. Of course, the textual and other deeper difficulties of the passage have quite escaped the English critic.

No. II. "consists of coincidences depending upon date," such as Rom. 16<sup>1-23</sup>, with Acts 20<sup>4</sup>, whence it appears that three — Sosipater, Gaius, Timotheus — of the seven mentioned as saluting the Romans were actually with Paul at the supposed time and place of writing. This coincidence, thinks Paley, is not too exact, but just exact enough. "As much as could be expected from reality, though less than would have been produced by design." He is clearly eminently complacent; had the coincidences been two, four, five, six, or even seven, his satisfaction would hardly have been less complete. Such reasons are as plentiful as blackberries, in support of any proposition. Again, recent critics are surprised to find Priscilla and Aquila returned to Rome, but Paley finds here a striking coincidence; for they might possibly have returned to Rome between 1 Cor. 16<sup>19</sup> and Rom. 16<sup>3</sup>, whereas had the date been any other, either before or after, they could not have been in Rome! This argument is fearfully and wonderfully made. It amounts to saying that an historical situation which was not impossible was very probably actual! There is not the remotest hint in Acts of any such return of the couple to Rome.

Paley also thinks that the encomium of Priscilla and Aquila in v.<sup>4</sup> is strangely accordant with history, but Acts is profoundly silent in the matter. It contains no suggestion of such devotion on their part, no hint of any very special relation existing between Paul and them.

To our mind the commendation sounds overwrought, and the construction of the verse seems suspicious.

Another congruity, this time of place, is detected in the mention of Erastus as "chamberlain of the city," since the phrase in 2 Tim. 4<sup>20</sup>, "Erastus abode at Corinth," renders it "a fair subject of presumption" that Erastus dwelt in Corinth or "had some connection with Corinth." This coincidence is not worth contesting; Paley admits it "is not so precise as some others." Nor could we have any motive in contesting it, for it is part of our notion of these "epistles" that they are revisions of revisions in which genuine historic data and literary fragments of various kinds have been taken up and elaborated.

Similar remarks apply to the second congruity of place, in the mention of Phoebe as "Servant of the church which is at Cenchreae." Since this town was the eastern port of Corinth, there is nothing peculiar or noticeable in Paul's having been there, nor anything requiring explanation in the circumstance that the Cenchrean Phoebe should be commended in a letter apparently written from Corinth. Paley does not bring out his argument at all clearly on this point; it is in fact too tenuous to bear clear statement, but the commendation of Phoebe may be an authentic fragment.

No. III. rests on a comparison of Rom. 1<sup>13</sup> 15<sup>23, 24</sup> and Acts 19<sup>21</sup>. The English theologian thinks the conformity between the history and the epistle is perfect. The transparent superficiality of this contention must now be long since established, if our study has not been wholly misdirected. He asks with amusing naïveté, "If the passage in the epistle was taken from that in Acts, why was Spain put in?" The reader has no need to be informed. Paley has missed the *raison d'être* of the passage entirely.

No. IV. is a "geographical coincidence" strongly emphasized by Lardner, between Rom. 15<sup>19</sup> and Acts 20<sup>2</sup>. These critics admit that Paul did not go near Illyricum in his first journey through Macedonia; but they think the clause "when he had gone over these parts" leads us to suppose "he went so far west on his second journey." But this is the airiest fancy; for the following clause, "and had given them much exhortation (*παρακαλέσας*)", shows clearly that this second journey was through those parts already visited, and for the purpose of strengthening and comforting the congregations already founded. The word *παρακαλέσας* cannot be used except of communities already Christianized. In the light of the foregoing discussion, we need not pause longer on this coincidence; another such, and the Paleian argument is undone.

No. V. is deduced from a comparison of Rom. 15<sup>30</sup> and Acts 20<sup>22-23</sup>. Paley thinks that the frames of mind correspond as they should in history; the greater despondency in Acts he thinks natural. We may concede all this and ask, What of it? that the impersonator, in view of Acts, should write as is written in *Romans* seems as natural and probable as can be. Paley himself cannot, or at least does not, give his own argument on this point any distinct statement.

No. VI. is "another strong remark, arising from the same passage"; namely, that the prayer for "delivery" could not have been made *ex eventu*, since he "was not delivered from the unbelieving Jews." This argument, a great favorite, has already been amply answered. The historical fact, as found in Acts, is that he *was* delivered.

No. VII. is founded on "the conformity between the arguments of this Epistle and the history of its reputed author." Paley argues that *Romans* "places the Gentile convert upon a parity of situation with the Jewish," and so did the historic Paul; therefore Paul wrote *Romans*. This argument would hardly be taken seriously in this day and seems quite too flimsy for consideration. Even if the case were exactly as stated in the premises, the utmost allowable inference would be that the writing was Pauline, not that it was Paul's. However, the case is *not* stated correctly, nor nearly adequately, but so inaccurately and erroneously as to furnish no basis for real discussion. We cannot waste time on such crudities.

No. VIII. is "supplemental to the former," No. VII., and is equally vague and intangible. It is contended in the first place that the "same point" in *Galatians* is "put in great manner upon authority," but in *Romans* entirely upon argument; and properly, for Paul had converted the former, but not the latter. A certain acumen is shown in this observation, but plainly the situation as disclosed is too indefinite to allow any inference. Besides, the remark bears upon the body of the "Epistle" and not at all upon the chapters now under consideration. Treatment of this argument, such as it is, does not fall within the scope of this paper.

A similar reflection applies to the second and final consideration advanced by Paley, that the tenderness shown for the Jews throughout *Romans* accords with the fact that the "Jews were very numerous at Rome, and probably formed a principal part amongst the new converts." This observation is also acute, but also lies beyond our present horizon, inasmuch as it applies to the bulk of the "Epistle." We merely remark in passing, that one of the very strongest arguments against the Pauline authorship, the Roman destination, and the epis-

tolary character of this document, may be derived from a minute study of the whole with reference to the very point here raised by Paley. This critic has indeed laid his finger upon an important nerve in the dissection of *Romans*, but his further examination is altogether hasty, careless, and incautious. The representation that he gives of the apostle as, at every stage of the discussion, drawing just conclusions at war with Jewish ideas, and then immediately withdrawing, or softening, or blunting them, in deference to these same ideas, is highly injurious to the reputation of the apostle himself. Such a procedure might beseem an unprincipled, time-serving, office-seeking politician, but not the chosen vessel of the Almighty. If Paul really carried water thus on both shoulders, then the charge of "dealing craftily with the word of God" (*δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*, 2 Cor. 4<sup>2</sup>) was not levelled at him without good aim.

We have now scrutinized these "undesigned coincidences" closely, with the result that they fail to sustain the weight of inference thrown upon them. Singly they are without any strength, and collectively they are no stronger, being all given in the same shallow and uncritical study of the text, and being all alike resolved by the same deeper analysis. Paley's was a virile, logical intelligence that played nimbly over the surface of things; measured by the standard of his century, his work ranks high; it is only the applause of his latter-day admirers that makes us wonder.

The 16th chapter opens with a commendation of Phoebe, deaconess of the church at Cenchreae. There seems to be nothing impossible in the supposition that Phoebe was going from Corinth to Rome, though it can hardly count as probable, and Paul may have sent a letter by her, though this again does not recommend itself strongly. But let it pass.

The long list of salutations has called forth much discussion. We do not flatter ourselves that we are able to add much of importance. That Paul should have so many acquaintances among the Christians at Rome seems improbable, but not impossible. Neither can we prove that Prisca and Aquila may not have returned to Rome, and Epænetus have accompanied them; though we cannot suppose that they went to prepare the way for the apostle, if he did not mean to stay some time, but merely to pass through the city. There are many other points of difficulty, such as: "Salute Prisca and Aquila, who for my life laid down their own necks;" possibly, but probably? Very strange, too, is v.<sup>6</sup>: "Salute Mary, who bestowed much labor on you"—a queer piece of information for the Romans. Equally

strange is v.<sup>7</sup>: "Renowned among the Apostles" and "in Christ before me" are odd characterizations of Andronicus and Junias, and of what force in addressing the Romans, who, perhaps, knew the twain much better than their sponsor? In v.<sup>13</sup>, "His mother and mine" sounds overstrained in Paul the aged. Verse<sup>16</sup> appears to overleap all bounds with its "all the Churches of Christ salute you."

While no single feature here may be decisive, it is certainly true that many must give us pause. The more we read this list, the more puzzling it becomes. Why should Paul call upon a congregation of strangers to salute his own friends among them? Why should he be at such pains to characterize his acquaintance in a way often bewildering, sometimes trivial? Each single difficulty may, perhaps, be met by the ingenuity of commentators, but the unfavorable impression produced by them all, is hard or impossible to remove.

We do not think there is any gain in regarding this list as the fragment of a letter to the Ephesians. Hereby the main perplexities remain unresolved.

Again, nothing seems to be proved, either one way or another, by the researches of Lightfoot, which aim to show that many of the names were those of historical Christians at Rome. Very possibly; but the names were too common to warrant any inference; John Smiths and Tom Browns abound everywhere. If there be any reference, as seems likely, to persons historically or traditionally connected with the Roman Church, then, in our judgment, this fact would by no means make for the genuine Paulinity of the list; on the contrary, it would rather point to an impersonator who sought to give local color and vraisemblance to his invention, by the use of the names of these real or imaginary Roman worthies. For the air of strangeness and unreality remains about the passage and grows distincter with every reading.

With respect to vv.<sup>17-20</sup>, something more definite may be said. It is the refuge of conservatives that the apostle is not warning against factionists actively at work among the Romans, but against some that he foresaw might invade them, namely, against Judaizers. However, there is no warrant herefor in the text. The Revised Version renders the present participial τοὺς ποιοῦντας correctly: "Them which are causing." Nor can we believe that Paul means to say: "I beseech you, brethren, you that are in Rome, to mark the Judaizers in Corinth and turn away from them." That would be very unnatural, and would be crossing the bridge too long before reaching it. Besides, the description given of these factionists (v.<sup>18</sup>) does in no way fit the

Judaists; quite the contrary. These might be charged with narrowness, and legalism, and the like, but not with serving the belly; they were rather ascetic. The mark of these sectaries is their "Chrestology and eulogy." The only plausible or probable reference of these words is to the Gnostics. It is hard for us, at least, not to suspect in the former a double meaning, a mere variant for *Christology*, since *Chrestus* and *Christus* were interchangeable forms. Was it possible for a Christian to use the word *χρηστολογία* and not think of *χριστολογία*? Be this as it may, this section must strike the unbiassed mind as marvellously out of place — such an all-important matter suddenly jammed in after such a long list of salutations. It is idle to say with Hort (*Romans and Ephesians*, pp. 53-55) that Paul has been warning his readers throughout indirectly against these heretics and now finally gives one direct warning! The eye that can see anywhere in the foregoing chapters the vaguest hint of the situation presupposed in this paragraph, can see anything anywhere. Even Sanday and Headlam admit that "commentators have felt that there was something unusual in a vehement outburst like this, coming at the end of an Epistle so completely destitute of direct controversy"; but,

Only to show with how small pain  
The sores of faith are cured again,

they accept straightway the bare dictum of Hort that "it is not unnatural." How inane to say "St. Paul has been building up his hearers against errors such as these, by laying down broad principles of life and conduct"! With far greater propriety could one defend such a passage at the close of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, or even the *Elements of Euclid*; for has not the Geometer, by laying down broad principles of scientific truth, and building up his hearers against the fallacies and intellectual errors so prevalent in antiquity, been warning them indirectly against the smooth and fair speech of sophistical argument, which in every age has beguiled the hearts of the unwary to all manner of false doctrine and pernicious? It seems thus, on sober second thought, to be strange indeed that some such passage is not found near the close of Aristotle's *Logic*. The omission can be explained, perhaps, only by the want of moral earnestness in the Hellenic nature!

It is hardly worth while to dwell on other details of this paragraph. Every unbiassed mind must perceive the vagueness of reference, the looseness of structure, the halting, stumbling thought, the far-fetched antithesis (wise unto the good, simple unto the evil), the allusion to

the approaching Parousy, the implication (in *are causing*, etc., and the *God of Peace*) of prevalent dissensions and heresies, the flattering unction in v.<sup>19</sup>, and the utter ineptness of the whole to the Romans and to the foregoing "Epistle."

The following verses, <sup>21-24</sup>, seem chiefly notable for v.<sup>22</sup>: "I greet you, I Tertius, who wrote (ὁ γράψας) the Epistle in the Lord." The first person singular is supposed elsewhere to refer exclusively to Paul; this use of it to refer to Tertius is surprising and confusing. Laurent's suggestion that the verse (<sup>22</sup>) was at first a marginal observation, appears at first sight very happy. But it seems strange that an amanuensis should make such a note on the side of Paul's letter. The case is most probably not so simple. Conjecture, however, seems vain. The verse must stand or fall with the rest of the chapter. The position of the verses is bewildering mainly because of the evident misplacement of vv.<sup>17-20</sup>.

We now come to the fourth and final conclusion of this "Epistle." Three have already met us: 15<sup>18</sup> 15<sup>63</sup> 16<sup>20(24)</sup>. That these are at least apparent conclusions is manifest, despite the denials of Lightfoot and his followers. It will not avail with Hort to coin a fine phrase and call them "pauses of adoration." There is no adoration about them, no ascription of praise, nothing at all but benediction, parting blessing. Their place is at the end of a communication, oral or written, there and nowhere else. The instances accumulated by Lightfoot prove nothing against this contention. In every case the benediction is either practically at the end of the whole, or else it marks the end of a part that had originally no connection with what follows. It is comparatively easy to find both ends and beginnings in the middle of a compilation.

It must be observed that benedictions and doxologies do by no means stand on the same footing. The latter may be suggested and appropriate in almost any place in a homily or epistle, but the former are entirely unnatural save at the end. Now it is three benedictions, not doxologies, that have thus far met us, but it is a doxology that we find at the close, vv.<sup>25-27</sup>. Here then is a most singular phenomenon. This "Epistle" has apparently four ends. There is no parallel to this state of the case in any human composition that has proceeded as a unit from one single hand on one single occasion. The indication of gradual composition, of compilation, seems so unmistakable that the burden of proof must lie on the defenders of the unity. We declare a universal negative: no composition with four apparent ends is an original unit; they declare a particular affirmative: this

one compilation with four apparent ends is an original unit. Can there be any doubt as to where lies the *onus probandi*? Yet not one defender of the integrity seems in the least conscious of his logical responsibility. All quietly assume that this integrity has an overwhelming presumption in its favor, whereas the presumption is wholly against it; no one troubles himself in the least to produce positive proof of original unity, whereas the need of such proof is crying. How entirely different is the procedure of critics in dealing with all other compositions, profane or apocryphal! Would Charles, or Gunkel, or Blass hesitate to pronounce against the unity of *Enoch*, or *Esdras*, or *Sibyllina* in the presence of four such apparent endings? Would Lightfoot, or Hort, or Sanday, or Headlam invent specious reasons and cling to bare possibilities, were they considering some profane or post-Apostolic document? Assuredly not! To ask these questions is to answer them. Their only excuse for reversing all the familiar canons of criticism, is that we are dealing with a supposed Epistle of the New Testament!

If the 15th and 16th chapters were plainly and incontestably Pauline, if they proceeded unmistakably from the same hand that wrought the foregoing fourteen, then we should have to take refuge in some theory of recension by Paul himself, like Renan's or Lightfoot's. But how does the case stand? It is precisely the opposite. The contents of these chapters are distinctly marked, not as Pauline but as un-Pauline. They must and do surprise even the most steadfast conservative, pledged to find nothing ungenuine within the lids of the New Testament. Such exegetes do indeed harmonize all discrepancies, but the strenuous effort put forth cannot be disguised. Hence the natural inference from the presence of the four apparent endings remains unshaken.

Thus far we have raised no question touching the matter or manner of this closing doxology. The same has been the subject of frequent investigation, and nearly all has been said that seems worth saying. Fortunately we are in position to dispense with a minute examination. The main facts lie close to the surface. Some of these are:

(a) There is no parallel to this doxology in any other indubitably Pauline Epistle.

(b) It is not in the style of any other Pauline writing, especially not in the style of any part of this "Epistle."

(c) It is so excessively overlaid and inflated that it is hard to believe that any one could have composed it originally as it is.

(d) It is grammatically incomplete: the construction begun in v.<sup>25</sup> is dropped, apparently forgotten, and never resumed.

(e) It has no manifest fitness in its present place, no relevance, but the most strained and far-fetched, to the contents foregoing.

(f) It is astonishing that Paul, writing so modestly to strangers, to whom he had never preached gospel, whose faith had apparently no Pauline base, should speak thus of God's establishing them "according to my Gospel."

(g) The awful phrase, "according to revelation of mystery for times eternal kept in silence," has not the slightest justification in the body of the Epistle, but suggests a wholly foreign realm of Gnostic or semi-Gnostic speculation, where the figure of Silence (ΣΙΓΗ) is particularly imposing.

(h) As much may be said of v.<sup>26</sup>, which bewilders in almost every phrase, the *τε* after *δα* being especially puzzling. (Zahn speaks of the *τε*-clause as *sehr auffällig*, p. 286; he can find no better reference for it than 15<sup>4.9-12</sup>, and for "the preaching of Jesus" he must refer to 15<sup>3.8.1</sup>)

(i) For any parallel or suggestion of this doxology, we must go to Jude<sup>24.30</sup>, to which the resemblance seems too close to be accidental; and if it comes to a question of priority and intelligibility, the form in Jude seems every way to deserve the preference.

(j) The whole atmosphere of the passage seems late, ecclesiastic, hieratic, like the peroration of some patriarch of Constantinople.

It is of great weight to our argument that Bishop Lightfoot admits the difficulty presented by this doxology, especially that it resembles not the proto- but the deutero-Paulines, and concludes thus: "These facts seem to show that though written by the apostle, it was not written at the same time as the letter itself." Dean Alford also saw the impossibility of supposing that Paul would write the Epistle in one manner of thought and speech and close with a doxology in such a startlingly different manner, and he conjectures accordingly that this latter was appended to the Epistle "in later times by the apostle himself, as a thankful effusion of his fervent mind." Lightfoot, of course, perceives the inadequacy of Alford's view, just as clearly as Hort discerns the insufficiency of Lightfoot's; nevertheless, Hort is quite unable to explain the facts, only partially recognized by the dean and the bishop, which drove them to their subterfuges. His defence can do nothing but make one smile and wonder; Lightfoot rightly finds it worthless. It is profoundly significant that two such authorities as Lightfoot and Alford find this doxology impossible as

an original part of this Epistle, and that such a master as Hort can make no reply that is an answer.

But when both dean and bishop seek to satisfy their critical conscience and their traditional faith at the same time, by assuring us that Paul appended this doxology at a later date, say five or six years after, we must interpose "*Quo imperante?*" By what authority do ye these things? If it be once conceded, as it must be, that this doxology is unintelligible as a part of this Epistle, then there remains no reason for referring it to Paul, the supposed author of the Epistle. Hort and Zahn have recognized this fact, hence they defend the doxology at all hazards as part of the original letter.

The notion that Paul in two or three years of captivity changed his diction completely, that he passed into a new sphere of ideas and left his ancient orbit as only a faded memory behind him, that he developed a new syntax, a new use of particles, new uses of prepositions, new mannerisms and constructions, new devices of rhetoric, at the same time rejecting his old favorites, almost without exception, — this notion, so complacently assumed by Lightfoot, is wholly without warrant. We hold such a transformation to be psychologically impossible, nor can conservative critics produce a scintilla of evidence of its actuality.

That the contrast between this so-called later and the earlier Pauline style is not exaggerated but rather extenuated in the foregoing, must be apparent to any one who will study two articles in the *Unitarian Review* of January and February, 1889, on "Curves of Pauline and of Pseudo-Pauline Style": wherein it is shown that in almost every conceivable peculiarity of inner structure the group Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, contrasts sharply with Philippians, and still more with Ephesians and Colossians. Had the comparison been made with the Pastorals, the contrast might have appeared even sharper still. It would be hard to find two compositions more widely separated in every quality of matter and manner than *Romans* or *Galatians* and *Ephesians*.<sup>1</sup> That the author of the one should also be the author of the other is far less credible than that Alexander Hamilton of the *Federalist* should have written the Resolutions of 1798.

It is curious to imagine what might have been, had Paul lived a

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of Eph. 1<sup>3-14</sup>, a great master of Pauline rhetoric, Johannes Weiss, says: "it is almost a blasphemy of the lively and vigorous author, Paul, to ascribe to him such a phraseologic conglomerate of ideas." *Theol. Litztg.*, 29th Sept., 1900.

few years longer. If, according to Lightfoot, the apostle wrote Thessalonians 52-53 A.D., and Galatians 57-58, and Ephesians 62 A.D., and the Pastorals in 67, and if such profound transformations in thought took place every five years, then what might have happened had he escaped martyrdom ten years longer? We see not the slightest reason why he might not have written *Hebrews* and the *Apocalypse*, the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and with another lustrum added to his life, why might he not have composed the *Teaching of the Apostles* and the *Christian Sibyllina*? The Paul that could write 1 Thessalonians 52 A.D., and 2 Thessalonians the year after, that could be ultra-anti-Judaic in *Galatians* at the close of the year 57, and equally ultra-Judaic in *Romans* in the spring of 58, is a Paul that strides from realm to realm, not in seven-league boots, but at pace of Poseidon:

τρίς μὲν ὀρέζατ', ἰών, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἔκετο τέκνωρ,

and we can no more understand him than we can understand the legerdemain of Hermann. Fortunately, however, for our comprehension of the New Testament and early Christianity, this many-minded apostle, unstable as water, is entirely unhistorical. He is a fiction of conservative imagination, as unreal as the classic Proteus.

Inasmuch then as Hort and Zahn have done nothing to invalidate the internal evidences of this doxology, and inasmuch as Alford and Lightfoot can give us nothing but their mere word to attest the marvellous change which they find it necessary to imagine in Paul's style and conceptions, and inasmuch as the strivings of these two warring wings of apology annul each other, we must consider the case, in the court of internal evidence, as closed against the doxology.

We have now examined both these chapters with minuteness sufficient for the purposes of our argument, and we seem to state the result in the mildest form when we declare that there is not to be found in them a single feature worth mentioning, either of matter or of manner, of thought or of diction, of history or of dogma, that so much as suggests Paul the apostle writing to Romans. Unquestionably the chapters, or most of them, are written *as if* by him, but the veil of impersonation is everywhere transparent. There is not a single sentiment, not a form of expression, not a statement of fact, that is not readily intelligible as the work of one or more impersonators. While we cannot always choose with confidence among several special possible motives, yet the general tendency is hardly anywhere in doubt, even when most guardedly discovered. Thus, it is clear

that the first section, 15<sup>1-13</sup>, is conciliatory and Judaistic. It was almost certainly written after the struggle against Marcion, and is part and parcel of the Judaism triumphant, which even to this day declares that "Salvation is of the Jews," and indignantly disclaims Paganism in Christianity, even where it is most incontestable. The author of this pericope would seem closely related by his mannerism "I say" to the author of 10<sup>18, 19</sup> 11<sup>1, 11</sup>, though he may be merely imitating this latter; and also by his method of profuse and irrelevant quotation, illustrated again in 2 Cor. 6<sup>14-7<sup>1</sup></sup>, a late interpolation.

The section 15<sup>14-33</sup> seems to proceed from another emender of still later date. He seems to be a member of the Roman church, very jealous of the glory and perhaps of the Petrine origin of that church. His contribution is intelligible only as a corrective of the Introduction, 1<sup>8-15</sup>. He is not quite pleased with the general tone of authority and superior wisdom that is assumed by this stranger (Paul) in addressing the great Roman church, hence he makes Paul ascribe every virtue to his readers and confess his own overboldness. He makes the apostle explain why he thus wrote to Rome, and intentionally lowers his apostleship into a priesthood. This seems to indicate that he belonged to that Jewish wing that would extend Paul the right hand of fellowship, but would never admit him as quite coequal with the Twelve. He was also probably in sympathy with the notion (not yet a tradition) that some apostle proper (as Peter) founded the church at Rome; hence he is most careful to make it appear that Paul had no share either in founding or in extending it, that Paul never intended to do more than pay the Romans a passing call.

He is very jealous of the Judaic origin of Christianity; hence he makes the collection for the saints an occasion to assert it in its most extreme form. He venerates the church at Jerusalem, designating them repeatedly as "the saints." His authorities are the scriptures of the New Testament; from these he has compounded his whole work, coloring and adapting to suit his purposes, now and then adding a phrase, with that singular mixture of freedom and servility that marks the writers of his era. Left to himself he becomes florid, unctuous, and pompous. The task that he set himself was not an easy one, and he has executed it with only very partial success, though with considerable skill. His chief artifice is vagueness, half expressing, half repressing what is in his heart. By such means he hopes to make Paul tone down and attenuate and finally turn into its opposite his own Introduction, without directly contradicting him-

self at any time in word and letter. His attempt is not ingenious enough to deceive critics that are not under some over-ruling prepossession.

Concerning the commendation and the salutations we are not prepared to speak confidently, but we incline to regard them as addenda, designed to give color and verisimilitude to the tradition concerning the Roman destination of the "Letter"; the author of the list seems to be speaking *pro domo*.

In vv.<sup>17-20</sup> we hear a still later voice, raised in defence of Old Catholicism, now established as the true faith and fighting heresy of every description. The Roman church now stands conspicuous as the model and pattern of Orthodox Faith.

Concerning vv.<sup>21-25</sup> it is needless to hazard conjecture.

The present position of the doxology by no means implies that it was the latest of these addenda. As we shall see, there is good reason to regard its place at the end of chap. 14 as the earlier. In our judgment it was the work of one of the first revisers or compilers. It seems to be semi-Gnostic in character and apparently belongs to the second half of the second century, when the old Catholic church was taking definite form, and was making, as the price of its existence, concessions in every direction, fusing together Paulinism (my Gospel) with Judaism (the preaching of Jesus Christ), and welding the doctrine of the divine authority of the prophets with Gnostic speculations concerning silence and everlasting aeons. It was, perhaps, written shortly after the doxology in Jude, on which it seems to be moulded; not, however, itself as an original unit. Its incomplete structure and the notable text-uncertainty seem to mark it as a gradual product.

We affirm then that these chapters are at least intelligible in every detail on the broad general basis of a later and composite origin; that such an origin is suggested and openly hinted by almost every distinct feature, both of form and of substance; and that the margin of indetermination in our theory, the playroom of uncertainty demanded, is not larger than the circumstances will justly allow.

On the other hand, we have seen that the hypothesis of Paulinity and original unity confronts us at every turn with obstacles, all of them serious and some of them insuperable; that every device for the relief of one merely aggravates the others; and that the defences put up by the most consummate masters of the art apologetic not only destroy each other, but are suicidal in their self-contradictions.

The only opposing arguments we can think of are: (1) That such

compilation and redaction as we assume are unknown in the New Testament and well-nigh unthinkable; (2) That the documentary evidence and the textual conditions negative our theory decisively and imply unequivocally a primitive unity.

To the first argument we answer that he who advances it seriously has not yet learned the A B C of New Testament criticism, and is beyond the pale of this discussion; the second calls for careful consideration, and such we propose to give it.

## Primary Hebrew Rhythm.

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THE first word of this title is not used in any technical sense ; such as it bears, for instance, in a book to which I am under great obligations, Sidney Lanier's *Science of English Verse* (1880). What is intended here is to simplify, so far as possible, a subject on which the doctors disagree sadly at present, but which I believe to be simple in its fundamental elements. To speak, however, of the "Elements of Hebrew Rhythm" might suggest an attempt more ambitious than this.

I shall confine myself pretty closely to the Massoretic text. Hebrew poetry covers so wide a field that if it is really built on metrical principles, the rhythm will have survived all the fortunes of the text in cases numerous enough to verify its primary forms, at least. It follows that any metrical hypothesis which can only maintain itself by continual manipulation of the text cannot be established at all.

That Hebrew poetry is characterized by parallelism has been a truism since Bishop Lowth's great work, *De sacra poesi Hebræorum*, 1753. But a clear distinction must be drawn between parallelism, which may belong to either prose or poetry, and rhythm, which belongs to poetry by its very nature. Some modern scholars, who revolt from the extravagances of this or that metrical novelty, have obscured this essential point. A single example should make the difference felt. "A wise son maketh a glad father ; but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother." Here is an excellent prose translation, preserving the contrasts of the original : wise, foolish ; glad, heaviness ; son, father ; son, mother. The parallelism is perfect, but yet something has evaporated ; it is the swing and song of the Hebrew :

*Bēn ḥākām y'sāmmach āv ;*  
*Uvēn k'sil tūgath immō.*

"Son discreet rejoiceth sire ;  
And son a fool his mother's wo."

By comparing these English words with the Authorized Version as given before (the Revised is the same), we are able to ascertain the *differentia* of rhythmical form, whether English, or Hebrew, or other. For the form stands wholly apart from the content. The average child, who knows not a word of Hebrew, will recognize the rhythm and imitate it exactly; meaningless words like *abracadabra* would answer the purpose as well. A moment's inspection shows that the form in the specimen given is of the simplest. The second line, "And son a fool his mother's wo," exactly fits the pendulum movement referred to by Bridaine in the sentence which Longfellow has made familiar: "L'éternité est une pendule, dont le balancier dit et redit sans cesse ces deux mots seulement, dans le silence des tombeaux: 'Toujours! jamais! jamais! toujours!'" The first line also falls into this very scansion, if we render it "A son discreet," etc.; but it corresponds, as it stands, with many such slightly shortened lines, in English and other modern poetry.

The very conception of rhythm suggests the notion of balance, of equipoise. That which is equal cannot be the number of syllables in the words employed; for although this happens to be the same in each segment of Bridaine's pendulum call, it is otherwise in Longfellow's version, which is certainly identical in metre with the original:

"Forever — never — never — forever."

Neither can the fundamental law be found, where it is often plausibly put, in the regular recurrence of the accent. There are four accents, to be sure, in either half of our Hebrew example, and these correspond, each to each; the same is true, too, of the translation which I have put under the Hebrew. But then, the same is true of the unrhythmical prose translation in A.V. and R.V.; any attempt to read this metrically results only in a sing-song utterance of what is unquestionably prose. A piece must first *be* rhythmical, and then the accent *marks* the rhythm; while accents dispersed in any way whatever over a prose selection cannot transform it into metre. Reverting to the pendulum, when we ask what it is that is marked by its swing, the answer is obvious. It is *time*; to speak with the grammarians, it is *quantity*. A deal of absurdity has been written to the effect that English poetry is marked by accent but is destitute of quantity. Quantity is the *conditio sine qua non* of all poetry. Lannier inveighs well against the bondage to Greek and Latin canons of classicism, which is implied in the narrow conception of quantity,

that knows only a long foot and a short foot, and gives every vowel of a word its label apart from its connection. The spontaneous instinct for rhythm of the most varied orders is innate in children and in childlike races; Lanier mentions the "patting dances" among the negroes, where the time may be altered at will, may be synco-pated, or otherwise complicated, and yet the dancer "catches on" readily.

But let us keep for the present to the simplest forms. A child, intoning the Mother Goose melody, *See saw, Margery Daw*, even without having heard a tune for the words, will give each of the monosyllables the same time as the trisyllable. It is easily shown that this is not merely an imitation of what the child has heard from others. For let us write out the full stanza as it is printed now-days, and taking the shortest syllable for a unit of measure, let us place a figure over the longer syllables, denoting their equivalent time in the child's recital. The result is as follows, neglecting slight varieties due to individual peculiarities of speech :

<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>  
 See saw, Margery Daw,  
 Jack shall have a new master;  
 He shall have but a penny a day,  
 Because he won't work any faster.

Now show the child the lines in their original form. The adjustment will be made instantly and correctly, the crucial test coming at the fourth line :

<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>  
 Se saw, Margery Daw,  
 Jacky shall have a new Master;  
 Jacky must have but a Penny a Day,  
 Because he can work no faster.

From the same original edition, which the child has never seen before, let the following be assigned ; each syllable will be given its true length :

<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>  
 Se saw, saccaradown,  
 Which is the way to Boston town?  
 One foot up, the other foot down;  
 That is the way to Boston town.

The next experiment brings out the remarkable fact that children give the right quantity to rests as well as tones, with nothing to guide

them except their own sense of rhythm. A bracketed figure denotes the equivalent time of a rest:

Dickery, Dickery, Dock; [4]  
 The mouse ran up the clock; [4]  
 The clock struck one, the mouse ran down [1]  
 Dickery, Dickery, Dock. [5]

It is singular, but true, that while a child of quick, nervous temperament will give the passage as above, a child of slower habit will double the time of *dock* and *clock*, and shorten to the same extent the pause that follows, so that the figure 3 will take the place of 4 in the brackets, and 4 that of 5, preserving the rhythm exactly. The fact that the main movement in these nursery rhymes resembles dactylic rather than iambic verse is of minor consequence; the chief matter is the double rhythm. For the sake of brevity, I shall occasionally use the terms "trochee," "iambus," etc., in a modified sense.

I have not thought it best to illustrate by musical notation, as Lanier does; for that is less intelligible than Hebrew to some readers; my method and examples also are different from his. I had not seen his "Science of English Verse" when the greater part of this paper was read before the Harvard Biblical Club in November, 1898. The principal matter I have borrowed from him is the demonstration that for the fundamental element in rhythm we must go behind accent to time. Before taking leave of his book, I wish to protest against the superficial way in which it has generally been criticised—when not entirely neglected—and to quote the opinion of his fellow-poet, E. R. Sill (Atlantic Monthly, Nov., 1885):

"The work of Sidney Lanier on English verse may be recommended as the only one that has ever made any approach to a rational view of the subject. Nor are the standard ones overlooked in making this assertion."

That may be an extravagant judgment, but no one can contradict it with authority, unless he is, like Lanier, both a fine poet and a fine musician.

And now the graver readers of this JOURNAL, who may consider Hebrew folk-lore more dignified than Mother Goose's melodies, are invited to turn to Samson's song of triumph over the Philistines, which, like those we have been examining, is in double rhythm. Many years ago, when my children were little, I recited this couplet in their hearing, and they were so taken with its droll movement that they seized on it with avidity, and have repeated it at intervals

ever since ; sometimes miscalling a Hebrew syllable, but never mistaking the rhythm :

Bil'hî hâh\*môr h\*môr h\*morothâyim  
 Bil'hî hâh\*môr hikkêthi Ēlēph īsh.

Note that a metronome would mark the same time as consumed in the utterance of *h\*môr* and *h\*môrôthâyim*,—a good argument against the syllabic theory of Bickell. The ingenious change in vocalization suggested by Professor Moore (*h\*martim*, *I heaped them*, for *h\*môrôthâyim*, *a double heap*) might be adopted without affecting the rhythm. It is otherwise with Professor Bacon's emendation, as proposed in *The Genesis of Genesis*, p. 14. The author introduces it very confidently :

"The merest tyro in criticism will see at a glance that the word translated 'an ass' in the text, which is identically the same word (*hamor*) as that twice repeated at the end of the first line, is simply what is called a dittograph, the commonest of scribal errors, by which a word is accidentally duplicated in writing. Either because the word *Lehi* ('jaw-bone of') suggested the translation 'an ass' for the first *hamor*, or because the reduplication of the word ('a heap, two heaps') to signify great numbers made confusion, the simple fragment of a war-song

At (Heb. *be*) *Lehi*, a heap, two heaps,  
 At *Lehi* I have slain a thousand men,

was transformed into

With (a secondary sense of *be*) the jaw-bone of an ass, heaps upon heaps,  
 With the jaw-bone of an ass  
 I have slain a thousand men."

Professor Bacon remarks in his second appendix that he has found the same emendation proposed by Schenkel in the *Bibellexicon*. And yet, *pace tantorum virorum*, could anything be flatter than this result? Without its savage humor and pithiness, the distich might possibly have been remembered thirty years, certainly not thirty centuries.

The pendulum rhythm which we are following lends itself readily to brief and terse utterances. The book of Proverbs abounds in them. Chapter 10 has several besides the one already given ; verse 5 is very similar :

אֵיךְ בָּקָח בֶּן מַשְׁכִּיל  
 נָדָם בְּקֶאֱדָר לֹן מְבִישׁ :



Compare verse 22 :

בְּרָכָה יְהוָה הוּא הַעֲשֵׂי  
וְלֹא יִסָּיֵף עָצָב טָמָה:

As the tetragrammaton will often meet us in these rhythmical lines, I will simply state without argument my conviction that its second consonant should be distinctly vocalized, giving to the word the quantity of two and a half syllables; my own preference is for the form Yā-h'-vē. The segholate in the line last quoted gives us a trochee instead of the usual iambus or anapaest. The phenomenon is common enough in our English poets. Perhaps, however, it is commoner in Hebrew; and one of the objects of this paper is to show with what perfect freedom the Hebrew poet varies his rhythm at will. There are two trochees in Noah's blessing of Shem, Gen. 9<sup>26</sup>:

בְּרִידֵךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי שֵׁם  
וְהָיָה כְּנֶעַן טָבֵד לָמוֹ:

There are two others in the song of Sarah at Isaac's birth, Gen. 21<sup>8</sup>:

צִחֶק קָשָׁה לִי אֱלֹהִים  
כֹּל חֲשָׁמַיִם יִצְחָק לִי:

Some of the specimens already adduced refute the mistaken dictum that Hebrew poetry objects to two accents in immediate succession.

The double rhythm may be prevailing or wholly trochaic; for the former case, take the call to the Shulammit, Cant. 7<sup>1</sup>:

שׁוּבִי שׁוּבִי הַשּׁוֹלֵמִית  
שׁוּבִי שׁוּבִי וְנִחְזָקֶה בְּךָ:

The beautiful line which opens the prayer of Jonah is wholly trochaic:

קָרָאתִי בַּצָּרָה לִי אֵל יְהוָה וְהִשְׁמָעַנִי:

*When I called upon Jehovah  
From my deep distress, he heard me.*

Perhaps this comes as near the form of modern verse as anything in the Hebrew Bible. Prov. 10<sup>1</sup> might, it is true, be scanned in the same way. But according to the analogy of similar proverbs, it is better, I think, to regard the first foot as shortened and the whole as iambic.

The metre in question is by no means confined to short sentences. A long example, almost wholly in this form, is the so-called oracle of the desert of the sea, Isa. 21<sup>1-10</sup>. I quote two consecutive verses, just as they stand in MT (vss. 3, 4. The whole passage is given, with an English rendering, in this JOURNAL, vol. xvii, 1898, pp. 47-49) :

על־בֶּן קלאי מתני חל־קֶלֶה  
צִירִים אֶחָזֶנִי כַצִּירִי יוֹלָהָה  
נִשְׁתִּיתִי מִשְׁמַע נְבִחֶלֶתִי מְרֹאוֹת:  
חֶסֶה לִבִּי פִלְצוֹת בְּשִׁתְּחִנִּי  
אֵת נִשְׁף חֲשָׁקִי שָׁם לִי לַחֲרָהָה:

The last word has two accents, the previous לִי being glided over as unimportant. One more example may suffice; this double measure is the prevailing one in the song of Moses, Ex. 15, occurring in more than half of its verses. I give the first verse and the last three :

אֲשִׁירָה לַיהוָה בִּרְנָאָה נָאָה  
סוּם וְרִכְבּוֹ רָמָה בָּסָם:  
חֲפֹל עֲלֵיהֶם אִימָתָה וְשֹׁמֵר  
בְּגֹל וְרוּעָה יִדְמֹו קֶאֱבֹן  
עַד יַעֲבֹר עִמָּךְ יְהוָה  
עַד יַעֲבֹר עִם אֹיְבֹתָיִךְ:  
תִּבְאֲמוּ וְתִשְׁטְמוּ בְּהָר נַחֲלָתְךָ  
מִכֵּן לְשִׁבְתְּךָ פִּעֻלָּתְךָ יְהוָה  
מִקֹּדֶשׁ אֶרֶץ בֵּיתוֹ יְהוָה:  
יְהוָה יִמְלֹךְ לְעֹלָם וָעֶד:

The last verse, and several others which have been copied, show that the pendulum rhythm is written in 4-toned lines rather than 8-toned lines.

The objection may arise here, that to find this simple rhythm I have leaped over many verses which would not fit into the scheme. This I not only admit, but claim; it is not a difficulty to be met, but merely a new fact, illustrating a principle that will presently be plain. It has no bearing whatever on the other fact, which I hope is now manifest, that the pendulum metre,  $2 = 2$ , is frequent in Hebrew poetry. I might have quoted hundreds of such lines.

The next in point of simplicity would be  $3 = 3$ ; and this is even more common than the other; probably it is the commonest of all. We find it, for example, in Psalm 18, with its duplicate in 2 Sam. 22. Turn to Psalm 18<sup>17-19</sup>:

יִשְׁלַח מִקְדָּוֹם יִקְרָאֵנִי מִשְׁנֵי קְדִים רַבִּים:  
 יִצִּילֵנִי מֵאִיבֵי קוֹ וּמִשְׁנֵאֵי כִי אֶמְצֵא מִמֶּנִּי:  
 יִקְדָּמֵנִי בַּיּוֹם אֲדִי יְהוָה יִהְיֶה לְמִשְׁעָן לִי:

The rhythm is a surer guide as to the last word than the heavy *Sillug*; the accent falls on the previous syllable, while לִי is enclitic as before. At the beginning of Isa. 41 there are six consecutive verses written in this metre without a break. The rough conjunction of accents and rests in verse 2 וּמַלְכִּים יִרְדּוּ is doubtless intentional, to express the idea, the subjection of kings. It is probably unnecessary to print the Hebrew, as the accents run in accordance with the following version:

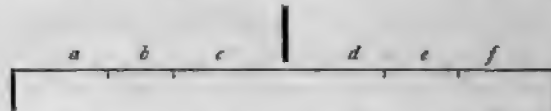
Keep silence before me, O isles!  
 Ye people, gather fresh strength.  
 They approach; yea, they will speak;  
 Together for judgment we come.  
 Who stirred him up from the East?  
 Right will call him to its foot, [will]  
 Give up the nations before him,  
 Make him to rule o'er kings,  
 Like the dust his sword shall make them,  
 Like driven stubble his bow.  
 He pursues them, passes on safe,  
 Treads not the ground with his feet.  
 Who hath wrought and accomplished,  
 Calling of old the generations?  
 I, Jahve, the first;  
 Yea, with the last I am He.  
 Coast-lands beheld and feared;  
 The ends of the earth were afraid;  
 Lo, they approach, they have come!  
 Each his companion doth help,  
 Each saith to his brother, "Be strong!"

While some of these double lines are English hexameters, others imitate the flexibility of the original, which is as likely to begin a line with an amphibrach or an anapaest as with a dactyl. But the quantity, and hence the rhythm, remains constant, as shown by the triple tone.

This metre occurs regularly from beginning to end, in the forty-three Massoretic verses, making seventy lines of poetry, that form the song of Moses, Deut. 32. We may test it anywhere, e.g. in vss. 31-33:

כִּי לֹא כִצְרוֹנִי צָרָם וְאֵיבֵי סָלִילִים:  
 כִּי מָלְטָן סָרִם נַפְלִים וּמִשְׁדָּמַת עֲמָלָה  
 עָנְבֻמוּ לְנֹכַי רוּשׁ אֲשֶׁכְּלֹת קִדְרֹת לָמוֹ:  
 חֲמַת מְנוּחַם הָיָם וְרֹאשׁ פְּתָלִים אֶכְדָּר:

We can hardly call this triple measure a pendulum rhythm, for the beat of the pendulum is not divisible into threes. Let us then adopt the symbol of a balance, with three divisions in each half, thus:



The first half of the stichos balances the second half in quantity; in other words, the time consumed in enunciating the syllables contained in  $a+b+c$  equals that represented by  $d+e+f$ . In strictness, each of these six letters stands for an equal division of time. Now just as all mathematics is reducible to addition, all possible metres are variations of twos and threes. Here comes in the principle alluded to before, and well brought out by Professor Briggs (e.g. "Study of Holy Scripture," p. 365), namely, that the Hebrew poet, in a given composition, was not held to rule so rigidly as his modern successor. When he chose, he used the same rhythm throughout a long passage, as the double measure in Isa. 21<sup>1-10</sup>, or the triple measure in Deut. 32; when he chose to do otherwise, he violated no law. Instead of formulating complicated rules with countless exceptions, let us observe and recognize his spontaneity; the whole subject will then be simplified. Thus, the alternation between twos and threes is pleasing to the ear as it occurs in the sixth Psalm; it seems fair to draw the inference that it was meant to be. The triple time in verse 2 is followed at once by the double time in verse 3. Observe the two accents in the penultimate word of verse 2:

יְהוָה אֵל בְּאֶפְסֹד תִּזְכְּרֵנִי  
 וְאֵל בְּחִקְהֹד תִּסְמְרֵנִי:  
 חַנּוּנִי יְהוָה כִּי אֶמְלֵל אֹתִי  
 רַסְאֵנִי יְהוָה כִּי נִבְהָלֹו מַעֲשֵׂי:

Psalm 29 has several such changes; for example verses 4 (triple) and 5 (double):

קוֹל יְהוָה בְּקוֹחַ קוֹל יְהוָה בְּהַדָּר:  
קוֹל יְהוָה שֹׁבֵר אֲנָדִים  
וַיִּשְׁבֶּר יְהוָה אֶת אֲרִי הַלְבָּטָן:

In the last line, the four tones cover fourteen syllables, whereas Prov. 10<sup>1a</sup> has only seven syllables for the same rhythm. What could furnish a more decisive refutation of Bickell's theory that the Hebrew poets, like the moderns, counted the syllables of their lines? Exceptions can be pointed out in modern compositions, it is true; but the *rule* must have been different in Hebrew verse. Psalm 29<sup>2b</sup> illustrates also the difference between Hebrew and classic metre; הִלְבָּטָן is one of our modified iambs, and וַיִּשְׁבֶּר is another. As Professor Briggs remarks ("Biblical Study," p. 263), we can only approximate to the effect of the Hebrew by frequent practice in the utterance of its verses.

The next step in point of simplicity is to make the change from twos to threes, or *vice versa*, within the compass of the line itself. This gives a 5-toned line, regarded as composed of 2+3 tones, or of 3+2 tones, according to the place of the cesura. Here the objector seems to have a clear case against us for violating the fundamental nature of rhythm. What has become of the balance, the equipoise, which belongs to the very essence of rhythm? I reply, it is not far to seek. Children can balance at see-saw on an unequally divided teter-board, provided the heavier child moves through the smaller arc. Conversely, the longer space determines the more rapid movement. Let us proceed inductively, as before, in the application.

Ex. 15<sup>5</sup> gives a regular example of two tones followed by three. The weighty pause at the cesura helps to even up the line:

תְּהַמֵּת יִבְסֹמֵי יָרְדֵי בַמַּצֹּלֶת בְּמִן אֶבֶן:

The same thing occurs twice in the blessing pronounced on Rebekah, Gen. 24<sup>60</sup>:

אֲחֻזָּה אֶת הָאֵל לְאֶלְשֵׁי רִבְקָה  
וַיִּלֶּשׁ וַיִּרְעַד אֶת שֵׁשׁ שָׁנָיו:

Two more, and again in immediate succession, are found in Cant. 5<sup>2b</sup>; the second is less regular, just as Shakespeare often breaks up the uniformity of his pentameter by trioles, pauses, etc.:

פָּתַח לִי אֲחֻזִּי רִשְׁתִּי יִזְתִּי חֲסִי  
שְׂרָאשִׁי נִמְלֵא כֹל קַדְמוֹת רִשְׁתִּי לִילָה:

Far more commonly, the cesura follows the third beat. In that case, the pause at the end of the line preserves the balance. A good example is the beginning of the vineyard song, Isa. 5<sup>1</sup>:

כָּרֵם הָיָה לַיְדִידִי בְּהָרָן בֶּן שִׁמּוֹן:

We have the same rhythm repeatedly in the latter part of the nineteenth Psalm, where the English version makes it as clear as the original:

The law of the Lord is perfect,  
restoring the soul:  
The testimony of the Lord is sure,  
making wise the simple.  
The precepts of the Lord are right,  
rejoicing the heart:  
The commandment of the Lord is pure,  
enlightening the eyes.  
The fear of the Lord is clean,  
enduring for ever:  
The judgments of the Lord are true,  
and righteous altogether.

Very often, but as we have just seen not always, a line with three tones before two produces the characteristic metre of elegy, *Qind*, *Klagelied*, which Professor Budde has made his own. The typical example is the book of Lamentations, especially chapters 2, 3, 4. A more brilliant specimen is the mocking elegy in Isa. 14. I quote vss. 12-14:

אֵד נִפְלְתָה מַשְׁמַיִם	הַיָּלֵל בֶּן שָׁחַר
אֵד נִדְעָתָה לָאָרֶץ	חֹלֶשׁ עַל גִּיּוֹם:
וְאַתָּה אִמְרָתָה בְּלִבְבָּךְ	הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶעֱלֶה
מִמַּעַל לְבִזְבְּבִי אֵל	אֲרִים בַּסָּאִי
וְאֶשֶׁב בְּהָר מוֹעֵד	בְּיִרְבְּתִי צִפּוֹן:
אֶעֱלֶה עַל כְּתֹמֵי עֵב	אֲדַמָּה לְעֵלְיוֹן:
אֵךְ אֵל שְׂאִיל תִּנְדָּד	אֵל יִרְבְּתִי בֹדֵד:

For regularity and beauty, this will challenge comparison with any passage in the Lamentations.

It is not unusual to meet with a 7-toned line, in which, as in the 5-toned line, the cesura may fall on either side of the centre, 3+4

or 4+3. We have an example of each in the song of Deborah.  
First, Judg. 5<sup>4b</sup>:

אֶרֶץ רָעָה נָם שָׁמַיִם נָסֻמוּ  
נָם עֲבִים נָסֻמוּ קָיָם:

This is 4+3. But verse 12<sup>a</sup> is 3+4:

טוֹרִי טוֹרִי דְּבוּרָה  
טוֹרִי טוֹרִי דְּבָרִי שִׁיר

The Massoretic note, here and at Isa. 51<sup>9</sup>, calls attention to the variation of accent, עוֹרִי followed by עוֹרִי. I suppose the design of the change, in either case, was purely metrical, namely, to avoid an uneuphonic succession. The play on the name of Deborah would have been unpardonable if it had been introduced thus:

טוֹרִי טוֹרִי דְּבוּרָה  
טוֹרִי טוֹרִי דְּבָרִי שִׁיר

There is a 7-toned line at the close of the one hundredth Psalm (4+3):

כִּי מִיָּב דָּוִד לְעוֹלָם חֲסִידוֹ  
וְעַד הָרָד הָיָה אֲמוֹנָתוֹ:

Another begins David's song of the bow, 2 Sam. 1<sup>19</sup>:

רִמְיָהוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל בְּמִחוּדָה חָקָל  
אֵיךְ נָסֻמוּ גִבּוֹרִים:

The cesural pause here is full of pathos.

Sometimes the triple rhythm meets us thrice instead of twice in immediate succession, giving a 9-toned line, whose symbol is the triangle instead of the balance or the pendulum. A clear case is the blessing of Asher, Deut. 33<sup>24</sup>:

בְּרוּךְ מִבְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר  
הָיָה רָצִי אֶחָיו  
וְטָבַל בְּשֶׁמֶן רֵגְלָיו:

There seems to be no other way to read this, and no reason for trying to escape from the symmetry of its  $3 \times 3$  accents. Compare the blessing of Joseph, Gen. 49<sup>28</sup>:

בֶּן פֶּרֶת יוֹסֵף  
 בֶּן פֶּרֶת עָלֵי קֵץ  
 בָּנֹת צִעְרָה עָלֵי שׁוֹר:

This might, indeed, be hurried into a 7-toned line (4+3), but is more effective, and much more accordant with the context, if the voice dwells upon each בֶּן.

Psalm 24 is metrical throughout; it illustrates nearly all the varieties of form which we have been examining. It illustrates also the perfect freedom with which the poet passed at will from one metrical mode to another. Note the three 9-toned lines in regular sequence, vss. 7, 8, 9. Mark the assonance in vss. 1, 3, 6. Observe too the change from מִי הוּא יְהוָה in verse 8 to מִי הוּא יְהוָה in verse 10, and the consequent alteration of the accent, which I have imitated in the English. The metrical scheme of the psalm is as follows:

Verses 1, 2 are 6-toned lines, 3, 3.

Verse 3 is an 8-toned line, 4, 4.

Verse 4 is a 4-toned line, followed by a 7-toned line (4+3).

Verse 5 is a 7-toned line (4+3).

Verse 6 is a 6-toned line, 3, 3.

(But LXX and RV. would make it a 7-toned line (3+4).)

Verses 7, 8, 9 are 9-toned lines, 3, 3, 3.

Verse 10 is a 7-toned line (3+4).

In this last line, the pause after the first הַקְבִּיד is like that after דְּבוֹרָה in Judg. 5<sup>12</sup>. It would be simpler to regard this, and indeed every 7-toned line, as two lines of 3 and 4 tones respectively; were it not for the fact that a line of only three tones violates our conception of rhythm; there being nothing to suggest the idea of balance. I prefer to consider the isolated three tones at the beginning of the eighteenth and the one hundredth Psalms as standing outside the proper metrical scansion, just like the two-toned Hallelu-jah at the beginning and end of the last five Psalms.

If the reader will now turn to the Hebrew of the twenty-fourth Psalm, and compare it, line for line, with the appended English version, he will find a close correspondence in the rhythmical structure of the two. The admittedly mechanical translation will accomplish

its purpose if it helps to familiarize any one with the graceful flow of the original, which surely deserves the name of poetry by the strictest of modern tests:

1. To Jahvé the earth and its fulness,  
the world and the dwellers therein.
2. For Hé upon seas has based it,  
yea, upon floods established it.
3. Who shall ascend the mount of Jahvé,  
and who shall stand in the place of his holiness?
4. The clean of hands and the pure of heart,  
who lifteth not up his soul to fraud,  
and sweareth not to deceit.
5. A blessing is his from before Jahvé,  
even right from the God who saves him.
6. This is the race of his followers;  
seeking thy face, O [God of] Jacob.
7. Lift up, O gates, your heads;  
be uplifted, O doors of old;  
now enters the King of glory.
8. Who is yon King of glory?  
Jahvé, the strong, the hero;  
Jahvé, the hero of battle.
9. Lift up, O gates, your heads;  
be uplifted, O doors of old;  
now enters the King of glory.
10. Who is yon King of glory?  
Jahvé of hosts is the King of glory.

At this point the sceptic may be inclined to ask whether all things are not possible to this elastic metrical system. Already we have postulated lines of 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 tones; could we not take any sentence in the Old Testament and bring it under some one of these classes? By no means, I reply; and if we could, we would not forget the gulf between prose and poetry. A piece, I repeat, must first *be* rhythmical; then the tone *marks* the rhythm. The man who should attempt to scan the seventh chapter of Numbers or the nineteenth chapter of Joshua would be the man that hath no music in himself. Let no such man be trusted.

But furthermore, the thing is impossible. Accidental verses are exceptional in any language; I believe there are only two or three

such in the whole compass of the New Testament (*e.g.* Luke 5<sup>21</sup> τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὃς λαλεῖ βλασφημίας;) Doubtless there are many more such in the Old Testament; but whoever supposes these metres adjustable anywhere can soon be cured; by practising, for instance, on the lists of names in the sixth chapter of 1 Chronicles.

It is altogether probable that, if we could recover the true text in many passages which are really metrical, the scansion would be greatly simplified; the crooked would be made straight and the rough places plain. Thus far I have followed the Massoretic consonants strictly, except that I supplied (with the best editors) the single word וְיָאֵל at Isa. 14<sup>12b</sup>. The two procedures to which I object are first the attempt to establish a metrical theory by changing the received readings whenever they prove stubborn, and next the use of a theory established in that way to justify further emendations. I would go so far as to hold that a prophet, or a psalmist, about to publish his oracles, may have cared so little for form in comparison with substance, as to begin with a rhythmical intent, which he would not take time to carry out to perfection. Nevertheless, we all must grant the presence of a large amount of error in the traditional Bible; we all assign a certain value, be it more or less, to conjectural readings; and certainly a conjecture is none the worse when by a trifling change it brings metrical order out of disorder. In studying the metres, I have not had this end in view; my interest has been literary, not critical. The value of the metres as an aid to critical analysis has been well brought out by Professor Francis Brown (this JOURNAL, vol. ix, 1890, pp. 71-106). In my article on the Ode in Isa. xiv (vol. xv, 1896), I offered a few slight emendations, on which I would not lay much weight. But that something of the sort is needed acquires some probability from the fact that the ode would thus fall into five regular and perfect seven-lined strophes like the one I have given above (Isa. 14<sup>12-14</sup>). Another suggestion has occurred to me, which I give for what it may be worth. The song of Lamech, Gen. 4<sup>23f</sup>, consists of three lines, the last of which emphasizes the number seven. It is itself a perfect 7-toned line (4+3). So too is the first line; and the second would be also, if we could make a slight insertion, supplying, for example, the subject אֲנִי after הִרְנֵתִי. Then the whole would read:

עָרָה וְצִלָּה שְׁמֵעַן כִּילִי  
נָשִׁי לְמִדָּה הָאֲנִי אֶמְרֵתִי  
כִּי אִישׁ הִרְנֵתִי אֲנִי לִפְעֻשֵׁי

וְאָדָה וְשִׁלָּה לִחְבֵּרָתִי:  
בִּי שְׂבָעִים יָקָם קָן  
וְלִמֶּךְ שִׁבְעִים וְשִׁבְעָה:

Adhah and Šillah, hear ye my voice;  
wives of Lamech, give ear to my speech!  
For a man have I slain because he did wound me,  
a youth because of my bruise.  
For seven fold is the vengeance of Cain,  
but Lamech's is seventy and seven.

The subject of strophes I shall leave untouched at present; they seem to relate quite as much to rhetorical distinctions of thought as to metrical distinctions of form. Moreover, I think that the needed harmony among students of Hebrew poetry would be secured sooner if the matters discussed could be confined within narrow limits.

I have made myself acquainted with the leading modern authorities on the subject of Hebrew metre. It appears to me that Professor Budde, and also Professor Briggs (especially in his later work, *The Study of Holy Scripture*), are in the right in their general method of treatment. Professor König's recent work in this department is also admirably done (see this JOURNAL, 1901, p. 90). But I feel obliged to differ from the two scholars who have written most extensively on this theme, Professor Gustav Bickell and Dr. Julius Ley. With many of Ley's positions in his *Grundzüge des Rhythmus* I find myself in substantial accord; but when he comes to apply these general principles, I cannot follow his lead. Instead of starting with simple forms, he begins with octameters, to which he assigns an inherent virtue of expansion and contraction. Though doing little violence to the Massoretic text, he shows, I think, great lack of judgment in measuring it. His first example is the one I have just given, the sword song of Lamech. This is made an octameter by putting a distinct pause between the construct נָשִׁי and the governing noun לִמֶּךְ; this is his count:

עָדָה וְשִׁלָּה שְׂבָעִים יָקָם  
נָשִׁי לִמֶּךְ רַבָּעִים וְשִׁבְעִים

as though he had said, "O wives! O Lamech! attend to my word." This case is not exceptional with Dr. Ley, but typical. Further, he has elaborated a system of compensation and substitution, by which

the octameter develops into the decameter, the trichotomic octameter, the catalectic hexameter, the elegiac pentameter, and many others, with a good margin for miscellaneous combinations. Were this simply a matter of nomenclature, it would be of little consequence; but when precisely the same metre is regarded as a variety of octameter or of pentameter according to the *subject* treated, the confusion between form and content is obvious. It is no wonder that Budde and Briggs, who start with him, soon draw back.<sup>1</sup>

I have given much attention to Bickell's principal work, *Carmina Veteris Testamenti metrica*. In my opinion, this is wrong fundamentally. It follows the alleged (though disputed) analogies of Syriac poetry in a way so prosaic that it would sap the life of any poetry. The author never seems to perceive the suicidal character of his theory, which he forces through by making the necessary hacks and twists in the received text. Under his guidance, Job begins the narrative of his woes in these trochaics:

Jōbād jōm ivvālēd bō,  
V'hallajla, — mar: horā gābr!

I am sure that if Job could have heard his sorrows chanted in that procrustean measure, he would have smiled at all his pain.

But a truce to these strictures; lest I forget that with what measure I mete, it will be measured to me again. I surrender myself to the goodly fellowship of the critics, and join thereby the noble army of martyrs.

<sup>1</sup> In his later work, *Leitfaden der Metrik*, 1887, Dr. Ley has abandoned the scheme of compensation and substitution.

# A GENERAL INDEX

OF

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

(As amended June 13, 1889.)

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CONSTITUTION.

I.

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II.

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III.

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be all ex-Presidents of the Society, and the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV.

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V.

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

## VI.

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council, for the object stated in Article II., provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

---

BY-LAWS.

## I.

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

## II.

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

## III.

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

## IV.

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

## V.

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

## VI.

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

## VII.

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

## VIII.

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

## IX.

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

---

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

*Resolved:* That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

## VI.

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council, for the object stated in Article II., provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

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<sup>1</sup> This list has been corrected up to Nov. 6, 1901. Members are requested to notify the Secretary of any change of address.

<sup>2</sup> The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

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REV. OWEN H. GATES, PH.D.

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